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THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY IN EUROPE, 1917-1942

A Selection of Documents

By MAX M. LASERSON



JANUARY, 1943

NO. 386

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

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PREFACE

Documentary material showing the development of Soviet Foreign Policy in Europe from 1917 to the present time is given in this issue of *International Conciliation*, together with an explanatory introduction by Professor Max M. Laserson who selected and arranged the documents presented.

Professor Laserson, formerly of the University of St. Petersburg, Russia, and of the Graduate School of Economics of Riga, Latvia, is the author of numerous works dealing with questions of law and political science.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

New York, December 15, 1942.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

IN EUROPE, 1917-1942

BY MAX M. LASERSON

Introduction

The present collection of documents relating to Soviet foreign policy is necessarily only a selection from an abundance of material. The editor believes that it reflects fairly the development since 1917 and affords an adequate basis for understanding. Candor, nevertheless, requires that the reader should be told what standards of epitomization were employed herein.

It would be idle to pretend that this collection mirrors exactly every feature of the international relations of the Soviet Union during a quarter of a century. The view it offers is a foreshortened one of the principal aspects of Soviet foreign policy in the period 1917-1942. While a chronological form of presentation was chosen in order to avoid compulsion on the reader to arrive at the same judgment as the editor's, it is necessary to point out that the selection is intended to reveal the polarity of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union fluctuating between the dogma of a universal revolution and the need to safeguard the stability and security of the Soviet State.

Restrictions of space have made it necessary to omit matter of secondary importance even from some of the quoted texts and to cut repetitious matter which is especially frequent in speeches and similar statements. That task also inevitably involved a measure of subjective judgment. Finally, the reader should note that the present collection includes almost no documents to illuminate the bearing of Soviet Far Eastern relations on Soviet policy in Europe.

The documents are distributed in three parts: A, B, and C.

Part A contains declarations, statements, and other unilateral diplomatic acts (notes and decisions) of the Soviet government, of its officers and of related organizations in the last twenty-five years during which the Bolshevik revolutionary régime set up after the October Revolution (A Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12) was transformed into the present huge federal union. Throughout this process of metamorphosis, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (bolsheviks) has played a leading rôle in the political life of the Soviet State. The congresses of this party there-

fore have been and continue to be a most important forum in which to make statements and speeches on vital questions of policy (A Nos. 9, 19, 22). Throughout this period the party has been the matrix of the most important policy-making organs of the State, most powerful of which is the Party's Political Bureau. The constitution of 1936 (Articles 126 and 141) declares that the Communist Party is "the guiding core of all organizations of the working people" and the only party of the country which has the right to nominate candidates to the State bodies, to public organizations and societies (central and local). As the only party in the Union, the Communist Party's relation to the State and its importance in the formulation of policy cannot be judged by reference to the situation existing in Western democracies.

Next in importance come statements and speeches before the revolutionary organs such as the All-Russian Central Congress or the Comintern (A Nos. 1, 21), and in the Soviet parliament, the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., the "highest organ of State authority" (Article 30 of the Constitution), which has also the power to ratify treaties and to approve the Government's foreign policy (A Nos. 16, 17, 23, 28; C Nos. 3, 7).

For a country where doctrine has an important bearing on the formulation of policy, it is of interest to show the attitude of the State Academy, especially in the period up to 1927, i.e. before the rapprochement with the Western democratic world took place. For this reason a quotation from an anonymous paper published in the Soviet *Encyclopedia of State and Law* has been included (A No. 15). Before 1927 that work was a kind of breviary of Bolshevik orthodoxy.

The other declarations contained in section A were made in connection with the conclusion of treaties, at various conferences, before the League of Nations, in special declarations and radio speeches.

Most noteworthy are the documents relating to the admission of the U. S. S. R. into the League (A Nos. 20 and 24) and to the recent rapprochement with anti-Axis States upon the entrance of the Soviet Union into the present war against Germany. The latter subject is dealt with in the last five documents of Part A. The participation of Soviet Russia in the Joint Declaration by the United Nations (A No. 26) together with the Treaty of Mutual Assistance between Great Britain and the Soviet Union of May 26, 1942 (B No. 42), apparently marks an ideological departure in Soviet policy in so far as the principles of the Atlantic

Charter are accepted by Soviet Russia as giving meaning to her participation in the present war.

Part B contains a selection of treaties, pacts and conventions to which Russia is a party. It may be helpful to indicate briefly the trends of policy revealed in these agreements.

The first period from 1917 to 1921 was marked by the most intense civil war. In a sense it may be described as the time when the national aspirations of the many peoples of the former Russian Empire were realized in various degree. It was also the period when the limits within which the new Soviet system was to operate were determined. It is important to bear in mind that these two propositions do not come to the same thing. After a series of local revolutions, the independence of the following former parts of Czarist Russia was recognized: Finland, Ukraine, Georgia, Latvia, Esthonia, and Lithuania (B Nos. 1, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 21). The inclusion of Western White Russia and Western Ukraine in the new Polish State was agreed to in the Treaty of Peace with that country. One very important feature of the treaty was the express grant of rights of cultural and religious autonomy to the Russian, Ukrainian, and White Russian minorities in the new Poland (Article 7). (B No. 15). By the end of this first period the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (R. S. F. S. R.), the members of which formed a kind of confederation and retained the power to maintain separate foreign relations and conclude separate treaties (B Nos. 16 and 17), had been replaced by the federal Soviet Union.

In the years 1922 and 1923 following The Hague and Genoa conferences (A No. 12), the quest for security against interruption of the task of internal consolidation of the results of the October Revolution began. Debarred from and at first hostile to a "united front" with the members of the League of Nations (A Nos. 11, 14, 15), the Soviet Union found an ally in Germany, like itself beyond the League pale and on the make, with which it concluded the Treaty of Rapallo. (B No. 18.)

A second expression of the quest for security is the series of treaties and exchanges of notes concerning the recognition of the Soviet Union. The most important was the *de jure* recognition of the U. S. S. R. by Great Britain on February 1 and 8, 1924 (B No. 19). Later in the same year, the Soviet Union was recognized by Italy, Norway, Austria, Albania, Sweden, Denmark, Mexico, Hedjaz, Hungary, and France. Recognition by the United States did not come until November 22, 1933 (B No. 28), and by Rumania and Czechoslovakia until June, 1934.

With the special protocol signed by Esthonia, Latvia, Poland, Rumania and the U. S. S. R. on February 9, 1929 (B No. 24), the Soviet Union began the negotiation of nonaggression pacts with its neighbors (B Nos. 25, 26). The capstone was set on this treaty security structure in the mutual assistance agreement with France and Czechoslovakia (B Nos. 29, 30) concluded after Hitler's rise to power.

The convention for the definition of Aggression (B No. 27) was the final step preparatory to entrance into the League and at the same time a means of safeguarding the Soviet Union against the hazards of the Japanese and German defections from the League's ranks. By tying together the various bilateral treaties of nonaggression and mutual assistance, the Soviet Union complemented the League security system and compensated for the League's lack of universality.

The only non-Russian agreement included in this collection is the German-Japanese Agreement against the Communist International of November 25, 1936 (B No. 31), which was directed against the Soviet Union and brought to focus the ideological enmity of the Axis powers against the Soviet Union. The other countries that adhered to this instrument included Italy, Hungary, Spain, Slovakia, Denmark, Rumania and Bulgaria.

The present war was preceded by the treaty of nonaggression between Soviet Russia and Germany (B No. 32), which was soon followed by the three mutual assistance pacts of autumn, 1939, with Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania (B Nos. 33, 34 and 35). Together with the peace treaty between the U. S. S. R. and Finland (B No. 13) and the peace treaties with the three Baltic States in 1920 (B Nos. 9, 10 and 11), those documents constitute the background for the eight documents in Part C relating to border territories and States. With the foregoing belongs the act of exclusion of the U. S. S. R. from the League (A No. 24) as a result of the Russo-Finnish War and the developments which led up to it.

Of the documents in part A, those beginning with the speech of Joseph Stalin of November 7, 1941 (A No. 25), and of the treaties in part B, those beginning with the agreement between the U. S. S. R. and the United Kingdom of July 12, 1941 (B No. 38), belong to the period when the Soviet Union joined the United Nations in their war against the Axis powers. In the Joint United Nations Declaration of January 2, 1942 (A No. 26), to which the Soviet Union was a party, the Atlantic

Charter was made the common program of aims and principles for which the war is being fought (B Nos. 41, 42, 43). Russian ties with the anti-Axis powers were strengthened by the treaty of Mutual Assistance between Great Britain and the Soviet Union of May 26, 1942. In the speeches and statements of Joseph Stalin and of Vyacheslav Molotov the struggle against Hitlerite Germany and Hitlerite tyranny remains the leitmotiv and the common denominator of policy (A Nos. 28, 29); the same is true of the basic treaties of the war period. This has been taken to signify an abandonment of the aims of universal revolution of the first years of the Soviet Union. In some of these speeches, as for instance the speech of Stalin on November 7, 1941, patriotic ideas are dominant (A No. 25), while socialist references are restricted to appeals to the banner of Lenin.

Further changes in policy may be seen in Soviet recognition of the Governments-in-Exile as allied powers. Typical of this are the Polish-Russian Agreement of July 5, 1941 (B No. 39), and the subsequent Declarations of Friendship of December 5, 1941 (B No. 40). The Polish Soviet agreement of July 30, 1941, put an end to the "fourth partition of Poland" effected by the treaty signed by Berlin and Moscow on September 29, 1939. The exact terms of the latter are not available but Article 1 of the Agreement declares "the Soviet-German treaties of 1939 as to territorial changes in Poland as having lost their validity." This renewal of Russo-Polish friendship is especially worthy of note since the end of Poland's independence was indirectly stated in the note delivered by the Soviet Union to the Polish Ambassador on September 17, 1939, (C No. 1) and directly proclaimed in Molotov's broadcast of the same date (C No. 2).

Part C presents a selection of documents relating to the Soviet border territories and the States neighboring the Soviet Union beginning with autumn, 1939. In this connection it is important to note the following. The formerly Polish territories of Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia were incorporated in the respective co-national constituents of the U. S. S. R. shortly after Poland was overrun (C No. 8; C No. 4; C No. 5). Two new republics were added in a different manner a short time later: the Karelo-Finnish on March 31, 1940, and the Moldavian on August 2, 1940 (C No. 8). Finally, on August 7, 1940, the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. acting upon petitions formally presented by

delegations from the previously sovietized countries of Lithuania, Latvia, and Esthonia (C No. 7) incorporated them in the Union as the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth constituent Soviet Republics.

A. Declarations and Statements Arising from and Relating to the Foreign Policy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

NO. I. THE DECLARATION OF PEACE

THE DECREE OF THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS WORKERS', SOLDIERS' AND PEASANT DEPUTIES OF OCTOBER 26/NOVEMBER 8, 1917¹

The appeal of the workers' and peasants' government to all the belligerent nations and governments to start negotiations concerning a just, democratic peace.

Such a peace the government considers to be an immediate peace without annexation (i. e. without the seizure of foreign territory and the forcible annexation of foreign nationalities) and without indemnities.

By annexation or seizure of foreign territory, the government in accordance with the legal concept of democracy in general and of the working class in particular, understands any incorporation of a small and weak nationality by large and powerful State without a clear, definite and voluntary expression of agreement and desire by the weak nationality, regardless of the time when such forcible incorporation took place, regardless also of how developed or how backward is the nation forcibly attacked or forcibly detained within the frontiers of the larger State, and finally, regardless of whether or not this large nation is located in Europe or in distant lands beyond the seas.

If any nation whatsoever is detained by force within the boundaries of a certain State and if that nation, contrary to its expressed desire—whether such desire is made manifest to the press, national assemblies, in parties' decisions, or in protest and uprisings against national oppression—is not given the right to determine the form of its State life by free voting and completely free from the presence of the troops of the annexing or strange State, and without the least pressure, then the adjunction of that nation by the stronger State is annexation, i. e. seizure by force and violence.

¹ Collection of Enactments and Regulations of the Workers' and Peasants' Government of December 1, 1917, No. 1, Art. 2 (hereafter called C. E.).

The government considers that to continue this war simply to decide how to divide the weak nationalities among the powerful and rich nations which have seized them, would be the greatest crime against humanity and it solemnly announces its readiness to sign at once the terms of peace which will end this war on the indicated conditions, equally just for all nationalities without exception.

The government abolishes secret diplomacy. . . . It will proceed at once to publish all secret treaties ratified or concluded by the governments or landlords and capitalists . . . all the provisions of these secret treaties, in so far as they have for their object the security of benefits and privileges to the Russian landlords and capitalists—which was true in the majority of cases—and retaining or increasing the annexation by the Great Russians, the government declares absolutely and immediately annulled.

NO. 2. THE DECLARATION OF RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLES OF RUSSIA
NOVEMBER 2/15, 1917²

The October Revolution has started under the general banner of emancipation.

There remain the peoples (nationalities) in Russia. The Congress of Soviets has proclaimed in June of this year the right of Russia's nationalities for free self-determination.

The Second Congress of Soviets has confirmed more categorically and determined this inalienable right of the Russian nationalities.

The Council of the People's Commissars, executing the will of those Congresses, has decided to lay down as a foundation of its policy toward the problem of Russia's nationalities, the following principles:

1. The equality and sovereignty of Russia's nationalities;
2. The right of Russia's nationalities to free self-determination up to seceding and the organization of an independent State;
-
4. The free development of the national minorities and ethnographical groups located within the territory of Russia.

Signed, LENIN, the Chairman of the Council
of the Peoples Commissars.

STALIN

The Peoples' Commissar for the Nationalities' Affairs

² C. E., December 4, 1917, No. 2, Art. 18.

NO. 3. THE APPEAL OF THE COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLES COMMISSARS OF
THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC TO THE PEOPLE
OF THE BELLIGERENT NATIONS WITH A PROPOSAL TO JOIN THE
NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING THE ARMISTICE, PETROGRAD,

NOVEMBER 15/28, 1917³

Replying to our proposal concerning an immediate armistice on all fronts with a view of concluding a democratic peace without annexation and indemnities, with the guarantee of rights for the national self-determination, the German Commander-in-Chief expressed his consent to start the peace negotiations.

. . . We, the Council of Peoples Commissars, are appealing to the working masses of Germany, Austro-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria. The peace we have proposed must be the peoples' peace. It must be an honest agreement which shall guarantee to every people the freedom of economic and cultural development. Such a peace can be made only as a result of a direct and brave struggle of the revolutionary masses against all the imperialistic plans and usurping aspirations. The workers' and peasants' revolution already has promulgated its peace program. We made public the secret treaties of the Czar and bourgeoisie with allies and declared them as invalid for the Russian people. We are promising to make openly a new treaty on the basis of agreement and collaboration. . . .

Long live the peace and peoples' brotherhood.

NO. 4. THE APPEAL OF THE COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF
THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC TO ALL THE TOILING
MOSLEMS OF RUSSIA AND THOSE OF THE EAST, NOVEMBER
24/DECEMBER 7, 1917⁴

Comrades, Brothers:

The reign of the capitalist plunder and oppression is crumbling away. The soil is burning under the feet of the imperialistic ravishers. . . .

The Moslems of Russia, the Tartars of the Volga River and Crimea, Kirgizes and Sarts of Siberia and Turkestan, Turks and Tartars from Trans-Caucasia. . . . All those whose mosques and worship houses were destroyed and whose beliefs and customs were trampled by the Czar and oppressors of Russia.

³ Kluchnikov and Sabanin, Collection of Treaties, Part II, p. 92, Moscow, 1926. Official edition of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs.

⁴ C. E., December 19, 1917, No. 6, app. 2nd.

From now on your beliefs, customs, your national and cultural institutions are hereby declared free and inviolable. You may organize your national life free and unhindered. You have the right to do so. You must know that your rights, as well as those of all the nationalities of Russia and are being protected by the might of the revolutionary organs. . . .

The Moslems of the East, Persians, Turks, Arabs and Hindus all whose lives and property, liberties and fatherland were stock in trade for greedy ravishers of Europe for hundreds of years; all those whose countries the ravishers who started the war want to divide among themselves.

We declare herewith that the secret treaties of the overthrown Czar concerning the seizure of Constantinople which were confirmed by Kerensky are broken and cancelled at the present time.

The Republican Russia and its government, the Council of the Peoples Commissars, are against the seizure of the foreign lands; Constantinople shall remain in the Moslems' hands.

We are declaring herewith that the treaty concerning Persia's dismemberment is broken and cancelled. The troops will be removed from Persia as soon as military operations are terminated. The Persians will be assured the right to free determination of their fate.

We are declaring herewith that the treaty concerning Turkey's dismemberment and seizure from her of Armenia is broken and cancelled. After the cessation of military action the Armenians will be assured the right freely to determine their political future.

Enslavement awaits you, not from Russia and its revolutionary government but from the ravishers of the European imperialism, from those who converted your fatherland in the wasted and robbed colonies.

Do away with the plunderers and oppressors of your countries.

.....

NO. 5. THE APPEAL OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN
AFFAIRS TROTZKY TO THE TOILING, OPPRESSED AND BLED-
WHITE PEOPLE OF EUROPE, DECEMBER 6/10, 1917⁵

The armistice of Brest-Litovsk is signed.

. . . We proposed to all people the open agreement on the basis of the recognition for every nation, big or small, advanced or backward, the right to freedom and self-determination of their fate. . . .

⁵ Kluchnicov, *ibid.*, p. 102.

The German, Austro-Hungarian, Bulgarian and Turkish workers must set against the imperialistic program of their ruling classes their own revolutionary program for the agreement and collaboration between the laboring and exploited classes of all the countries.

.....
The liberation of Belgium, Serbia, Rumania, Poland, Ukraine, Greece, Persia and Armenia, can be achieved not by the victorious imperialists of one of the coalition but by the revolutionary workers of all the belligerent and neutral countries in the victorious struggle against all the imperialists.

To this struggle we are calling you, the workers of all the lands. There is no other way. . . . Toiling humanity should repudiate itself and its future if it continued further to submissively carry upon itself the yoke of the imperialistic bourgeoisie.

We, the Council of Peoples Commissars, . . . are calling on you to rise in a common struggle for the immediate end of the war on all fronts. . .

.....
NO. 6. THE DECLARATION MADE BY THE PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE
RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC JOFFE
AT THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION OF THE PEACE
CONFERENCE AT BREST-LITOVSK ON
DECEMBER, 9/22, 1917⁶

. . . The Russian delegation considers that the only principles of the universal peace are those incorporated in the Declaration of Peace unanimously accepted by the All-Russian Congress of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and confirmed by the All-Russian Peasants' Congress.

The text of this decree⁷ is as follows:

.....
Starting from these principles the Russian delegation proposes that the peace negotiations should be based on the following six points:

1. No forcible union of territories conquered during the war shall be permitted. The troops occupying such territories shall be withdrawn within the shortest possible time.

2. The political independence of peoples, who have lost their independence during the war, shall be restored to the fullest extent.

3. National groups which before the war were not politically independent shall be guaranteed the possibility of deciding by referendum

⁶ Kluchnicov, *ibid.*, p. 102.

⁷ See Document No. 1.

the question of belonging to one State or another or enjoying their political independence; this referendum must be arranged in such a manner that complete independence in voting is guaranteed for the entire population of the region in question including the immigrants and refugees.

4. With regard to territory of mixed nationalities the right of the minority shall be protected by special law granting autonomy of national culture and, if practicable, also autonomous administration.

5. None of the belligerent countries shall be obliged to pay another country any so-called war costs. Contributions already levied are to be paid back. . . .

6. Colonial questions shall be decided in conformity with the principles laid down in points 1 to 4.

Supplementing the foregoing, the Russian Delegation proposes to the contracting parties to brand every kind of covert combating of the freedom of weak nations by strong as not permissible as for example by economic boycott, economic dominance of one country over another by force, commercial treaties, by special tariff which restricts freedom of trade with a third country or by sea-blockade which does not pursue a direct war aim,

NO. 7. STATEMENT OF THE RUSSIAN DELEGATION TO THE BREST-LITOVSK PEACE CONFERENCE PRESENTED AT THE SESSION
OF JANUARY 12, 1918⁸

1. Whereas during occupation, nowhere, either in Poland, Lithuania or Courland, could there be constituted or could there exist any democratically elected organs which could lay claim with any right whatever to be considered as expressing the will of large circles of the population, as regards any effort to . . . attain complete State independence, the Russian Delegation declares:

(a) from the fact that the occupied territories belong to the former Russian Empire the Russian Government draws no conclusions, which would impose any constitutional obligation on the population of these regions in relation to the Russian Government. The old frontiers of the former Russian Empire, frontiers formed by act of violence and crimes against peoples, especially against the Polish people, have vanished together with czarism. The new frontiers of the fraternal league of the peoples of the Russian Republic and of the peoples, which desire to remain outside its borders, must be formed by free resolution of the people concerned.

⁸ I. Magnus, *Russia and Germany at Brest-Litovsk*, p. 73.

(b) The main task of the present negotiations for the Russian Government does not consist, therefore, in defending in any way whatever a future forcible detention of the territories mentioned within the borders of the Russian Empire, but in safeguarding real freedom of self-determination as to the internal State organization and the international position of such territories. The Russian Republic will feel itself secure against being dragged into any territorial disputes and conflicts, only when it is convinced that the line which separates it from its neighbors has been formed by the free will of the peoples themselves and not by violence from above, which could only suppress that will for a short time.

. . . The solution of the question, regarding the fate of regions determining their own lot, must take place under conditions of full political freedom and without external pressure. The voting must, therefore, take place after the withdrawal of foreign armies and the return of the refugees and of the population removed since the beginning of the war.

. . . After the termination of the World War, the protection of law and order in regions undergoing the process of self-determination devolves on the national armies and local militia.

The transition of régime that shall exist until the moment of the final political constitution of these territories. From the moment of the signing of peace until the final political constitution of the territories named, their internal administration and the direction of their local affairs, finances, . . . pass into the hands of the temporary organ, formed by an agreement between the political parties which have proved their vitality in the midst of their people before and during the war.

The main task of these temporary organs consists simultaneously with the maintenance of the normal course of social and economic life, in the organization of a plebiscite.

The way in which the population of these territories will be required to make their will known.

The final solution of the question of the State position of the territories in question and the form of their State organization will follow by means of a general referendum.

NO. 8. THE DECLARATION OF THE RUSSIAN PEACE DELEGATION MADE
BEFORE SIGNING THE PEACE TREATY AT THE SESSION OF THE
CONFERENCE AT BREST-LITOVSK ON MARCH 3, 1918⁹

The workers' and peasants' government of the Russian Republic was

⁹ Proceedings of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Conference.

forced . . . to accept an ultimatum presented by Germany on February 24. We have been delegated to sign these conditions, which have been forced upon us by violence.

The negotiations which have been carried out so far at Brest-Litovsk between us on the one part and Germany and her allies on the other, have shown strongly and clearly that the peace "by agreement" as it is formed by the German representatives, is really and definitely an annexationist and imperialistic peace . . . This is a peace which, while pretending to free Russian border provinces, really transforms them into German provinces and deprives them of the right of free self-determination, such as was recognized by the workers' and peasants' government of Revolutionary Russia, as due to them. This is a peace which while pretending to reestablish order, gives armed support in these regions to exploiting classes against the working classes, and is helping again to put upon them the yoke of oppression, which was removed by the Russian revolution.

NO. 9. THE RESOLUTION OF THE CONGRESS OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN
COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIKS)¹⁰

All nations in Russia must have the *right of free separation therefrom* and the rights of free and independent States. The denial of such rights and the failure to take proper measure to guarantee their existence are equivalent to the support of the policy of conquest and annexation. Only the recognition of the right of nations to secede will secure a complete solidarity of the workers of different nations and will further an actual democratic union.

NO. 10. CONSTITUTION OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED
SOVIET REPUBLIC OF JULY 10, 1918

Striving to create a really free and voluntary . . . union of the working classes of all nations of Russia the Third Congress of the Soviets restricts itself to the fixation of the basic principles of a Federation of the Soviet Republics of Russia. Thereby the workers and peasants of each nation are allowed to make an independent decision of their own plenipotentiary congress of Soviets whether and on what conditions they desire to participate in the Federal Government and in the other federal Soviet institutions.

¹⁰ Taken from the "Protocols of the Communist Party: Protokoly 7 aprejskoi konferencii R. S. D. R. P. (b)", 1934, p. 265 (Russian).

NO. II. THE NOTE OF THE COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE
R. S. F. S. R. CHICHERIN ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF
THE UNITED STATES WILSON CONCERNING THE
INTERVENTION, OCTOBER 24, 1918¹¹

... While agreeing to participate in the negotiations even with governments which do not as yet represent the will of the people, we on our part should like to ascertain in detail from you, Mr. President, your conception of the League of Nations with which you propose to crown the work of peace. You demand the independence of Poland, Serbia, Belgium, and liberty for the peoples of Austria-Hungary. You probably mean to say that the popular masses everywhere must first take the determination of their fate into their own hands in order afterwards to associate in a free League of Nations. But strangely enough, we have not seen among your demands the liberation of either Ireland, Egypt, India or even the Philippines, and we greatly desire that these peoples, through their freely elected representatives, should have an opportunity jointly with us to take part in the organization of the League of Nations.

Before commencing negotiations for the establishment of a League of Nations we also desire, Mr. President, to ascertain what solution you propose for the numerous problems of an economic character which have an essential importance for the cause of future peace You know as well as we, Mr. President, that this war is the result of the policy of all capitalist States

We therefore propose that the League of Nations should be based upon the expropriation of the capitalists of all countries. . . . If you should agree to this, Mr. President, if the sources of new war should forever be blocked up in this manner, there can be no doubt that all economic barriers could easily be removed, and that the peoples controlling the means of production which they operate would be vitally interested in a mutual exchange of the products they do not want for the things they need. This would result in the exchange of commodities between nations, each producing what it could best produce, and the League of Nations would be a League of mutual aid to the laboring masses. It would then be easy to reduce the armed forces to the minimum necessary for the maintenance of public safety in the interior. . . .

¹¹ Russian text in full see *Soviet-American Relations, 1918-1933* (Russian), edited by the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, 1934. Compare R. Palne Dutt, *World Politics, 1918-1936*, N. Y., 1936, pp. 139-140.

We have tried to formulate our proposals concerning a League of Nations with precision in order to prevent the League of Nations from becoming a League of Capitalists against the Nations.

... But there is another possibility. We have to deal with President Wilson of the Archangel attack and the Siberian invasion. We also have to deal with the President Wilson of the League of Nations peace program. Is not the real President Wilson, who in point of fact is guiding the policy of the American capitalist government, actually the former of the two? Is he not the American Government, the government of the American joint stock companies, the industrial commercial railway trusts and banks—in short, the government of the American capitalists? If so, is it not possible that the proposal to establish a League of Nations, which emanates from this same American capitalist government, will actually bind the people by new chains, and that an international trust will be formed for the exploitation of the working classes and the oppression of the weaker peoples?

NO. 12. DECLARATION OF THE PEOPLES COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS G. CHICHERIN AT THE GENOA CONFERENCE ON
APRIL 10, 1922¹²

Universal peace could only be achieved by a universal congress meeting on the basis of the equality of all peoples and the recognition of every people to self-determination. . . . While accepting as a starting point the old international agreements with suitable modifications, and being ready to help to revise the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Russian Government believes that a universal Congress should appoint technical commissioners to work out the economic reconstruction of the world.

NO. 13. STATEMENT OF THE *IZVESTIA* OF DECEMBER 31, 1922¹³

The treaty of December 30, 1922, by which the present union of Soviet Socialist Republics came into existence, embodies provisions to the effect, that this Union shall be a free union of free peoples with equal rights; that each Republic shall have the right to leave the Union if it so desires; and that at the same time the door shall be left open for the voluntary entry into the Union of other Socialist Republics that may be formed in the future.

¹² John Saxon Mills, *The Genoa Conference*, London, 1922 (?), p. 64.

¹³ *Izvestia* is the official daily of the Soviet Government appearing in Moscow.

NO. 14. NOTE SENT BY THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS TO THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE LEAGUE OF
NATIONS, MARCH 15, 1923¹⁴

... The attitude of the Soviet Government to the so-called League of Nations has frequently been expressed in the declarations of its responsible representatives. The Soviet Government's attitude to the so-called League of Nations remained unaltered. It regards it as a coalition of certain States endeavoring to usurp the power over other States and masking their attempt on the rights and independence of other nations in a false appearance of groundless legality and in the form of the mandates issued by the Council or ... Assembly of the League of Nations. ... The Soviet Government maintains its conviction that this pseudo-international body really serves as a mere mask to conceal from the broad masses the aggressive aims of the imperialist policy of certain Great Powers or their vassals. The Soviet Government finds confirmation for its conviction every time that a State assuming the leading rôle in the League of Nations makes a decision on international questions, touching the interest of the Soviet Republic.

The Soviet Government cannot, however, sacrifice to such conceptions its constant aspirations to afford by every means at its disposal, all possible assistance in its task of easing the burden of militarism lying upon all peoples, the task of preventing armed conflicts and the consolidation of general peace. Weak as are the hopes of the Soviet Government for the achievement of these aims in the present world situation, it would consider it out of the question to refrain from taking the least possible opportunity for doing something, however little, to assist the matter of the reduction of armament. ... Taking this stand, the Soviet Government endeavored at the Genoa Conference to bring forward the question of general disarmament. At the Lausanne Conference it defended the principle of closing the Straits for warships, the result of which would have been a diminution of the chances of armed conflicts at sea and the reduction of naval armament. ...

While in no degree going back upon its expressed attitude to the League of Nations, the Soviet Government is ready to regard the proposed conference as a meeting of representatives of individual States, despite the fact that certain of these States composed an hypothetical League of Na-

¹⁴ E. Korovine, The U. S. S. R. and Disarmament in *International Conciliation*, September, 1933, No. 292, p. 28.

tions. The Soviet Government therefore expresses its entire readiness to take part in the aforesaid Conference, independent of whether it is called by the Government of the United States of America, . . . or by any other group of powers. The Soviet Government moreover, considers that without the participation of Russia and her allies the before-mentioned Conference will be meaningless Therefore although the agenda of the above-mentioned conference only mentions members of the so-called League of Nations, the Soviet Government considers that the participation of Russia and her allies . . . is desirable and essential.

NO. 15. AN OFFICIAL SOVIET THEORETICAL STATEMENT ON THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS, MOSCOW, 1926¹⁵

The League of Nations is an association of States of an international character which emerged as a result of the war of 1914-1918. . . .

By virtue of the principles of the capitalistic system the real significance of the League of Nations should consist in an organized distribution of the spheres of influence, of colonies and markets among several imperialist States. Said Lenin during the last war: "The United States of Europe" under capitalism are equivalent to an agreement concerning the division of colonies (Tome XIII of his Works, p. 132). No other basis, no other principle of division is possible under capitalism except by force.

In order to test the real power of a capitalistic State there cannot be any other means than war. Thus it is theoretically clear enough that a League of Nations, as a real universal organization able to remove the contradictions between various capitalistic States and to establish a world peace, is unfeasible.

This has been proved by the practice of the League.

The leaders of the belligerent powers were eager to accept and approve the Wilsonian idea of a League of Nations in order to support in such a way the conviction among the masses that war is waged for the realization of a status of unshakable universal peace. The Allied Powers after their victory in the World War created the present League because they could not openly repudiate their pacifist promises and vows.

.....
The U. S. S. R. refused and refuses any participation in the League of Nations because of the fact that this organization, which claims to be a

¹⁵ See the *Encyclopedia of State and Law* edited by the Communistic Academy, Section of General Theory of Law and State, Moscow, 1925/1926, p. 749.i. Translation from the Russian original.

universal one, is, as a matter of fact, only an executive organ of some imperialistic powers which were victorious in the World War and are striving to preserve and utilize the privileged position created for them by the peace treaties. The interests of these powers only were and are systematically carried out by the League of Nations under the pretense of a preservation of the universal peace and justice. This point of view was formulated by the Soviet Government every time when it had to deal with the League as an international political organ. For instance, in the fall of 1920 the Soviet Government refused entry to its country of the Search Commission, which was contemplated by the Council of the League. Furthermore, in 1923 the U. S. S. R. refused to submit for decision its dispute with Finland concerning Eastern Karelia before the body designated by the League . . . whereby it was emphasized that the mediation of the League of Nations would only constitute a compromise of the very idea of arbitration. In February, 1924, the U. S. S. R. declined to accept the draft of a guarantee agreement prepared by the League. In August, 1924, the U. S. S. R. delegation to the Anglo-Soviet Conference in London declined the British Government's proposal to send to the League of Nations' session an observer, designated by the Soviet Government, as a first step to the entry of the U. S. S. R. into the League. In the fall of 1924 the U. S. S. R. declined an invitation to participate at the conference concerning the trade in opium.

The basic attitude of the Government of the U. S. S. R. toward the League of Nations found its expression in an interview with the Deputy of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, M. Litvinov. On November 23, 1925, he refuted the rumors about the alleged changes in the views of the U. S. S. R. concerning the League.

. . . The League interfered with the internal affairs of the U. S. S. R. not only once. Such were the problems of Eastern Karelia at Finland's instigation as well as the case of Georgia where there was not the slightest legal foundation based on any international treaty. These facts illustrate sufficiently the "impartiality" of the League of Nations. The latter invariably kept silent and abstained from any acts in cases of clashes of imperialistic powers with small States and allowed the Great Powers to carry out their oppressive policy. For instance, in the fall of 1923 it hesitated to intervene in the Greco-Italian conflict despite the request of Greece for interference. Similarly in the fall of 1924 it kept silent with respect to the Anglo-Egyptian conflict. When in the fall of the same year the Kingdom of Hedjaz while a member of the League and when

attacked by its neighbors, at Great Britain's instigation, appealed before the League for help, the Secretary did not even find it necessary to convoke the Council in violation of Article 11 of the Covenant of the League. Finally, in December, 1925, the annexation by Great Britain of the Mosul District belonging to Turkey was approved by the Council.

The League's activities in the humanitarian and cultural fields are marked with the same features as its political work. The following may serve as characteristic instances: The refusal to help the people of the U. S. S. R. during the hunger of 1921 for political reasons only; the financial reconstruction of Austria which led to the loss of Austrian sovereignty and to its submission to the control of the international capital. A similar "Reconstruction of Hungary" was performed in the interests of English and American banks; the egotistic strive of some States to profiteering which developed under the cover of the League of Nations became so evident, that the Government of the U. S. S. R. was compelled to refuse participation in the Conference organized by the League of Nations concerning trade with opium.

... Among all the international organizations controlled by the League of Nations the only advantageous ones were the International Sanitary and Hygienic Organizations fighting against the epidemics in Poland and other States of Central Europe. The activities of these organizations however have behind them a long established routine in the past and the League's influence in this respect was not a decisive one.

Thus the League is, as a matter of fact, a political combination or a group of nations interested in the preservation and utilization of the postwar international status. Its very name and the universal designation ascribed to it are therefore fictitious.

The League, being a continuation of the Entente, did not change its substance because of the fact that neutral countries had been invited to participate and later on the vanquished States—such as Germany in particular—had been admitted. The latter circumstances witnesses that together with the preservation of the status created by the Versailles treaties another aim of the League is becoming more evident, namely the establishment of a united front of bourgeois States against the U. S. S. R.

... The League can by no means be transformed into a super-State or a federation of States or even into a loose confederation because of the irreconcilable contradictions between various capitalistic States, members of the League. The growing antagonism and the concealed struggle

among the biggest powers (as for instance between Great Britain and France), the constant quarrels and conflicts among the members of the League, the militarist "climate" prevailing in the whole World,—all this proves the bankruptcy of the bourgeois pacification. . . . The capitalistic structure of the various States and their competition on the world-market, the chase after profits and super-profits are creating among them irreconcilable contradictions which unavoidably will lead to international conflicts—so long as capitalism exists.

NO. 16. THE SPEECH OF M. MOLOTOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL
OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE U. S. S. R. AT THE
OPENING SESSION OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE, DECEMBER 28, 1933¹⁶

The League of Nations

. . . That the danger of new wars has become particularly imminent this year is quite clear if only from the following fact. This year, Germany and Japan have announced their decision to withdraw from the League of Nations. Germany has done this evidently in order to untie her hands for rearming, considering her participation in the League of Nations as a hindrance thereto. On the other hand, Japan announced her exit from the League of Nations in connection with her desire to have a completely free hand for her intervention in China. It has thus happened that even the League of Nations has, to a certain extent, stood in the way of the "liberty" of the interventionists.

In connection with all this it must be recognized that the League of Nations has exerted a certain restraining influence upon those forces which are preparing for war. . . .

So much the more decisively and consistently shall we defend the progress toward peace and expose all and every attempt to accelerate the outbreak of new imperialist wars and new attacks on the U. S. S. R., utilizing for this purpose every possibility of the given moment. In connection with this, our first duty is to keep the laboring masses informed as to the real position of the U. S. S. R. in the present capitalist surroundings so that the wide masses of the workers and peasants should comprehend the fundamental factors menacing peace and should at the same time understand these factors which strengthen our peace position and universal peace.

¹⁶ *Soviet Foreign Policy*, published by the Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee, London, 1934, pp. 18-19.

NO. 17. SPEECH BY M. LITVINOV PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN
AFFAIRS AT THE SESSION OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COM-
MITTEE OF THE U. S. S. R., DECEMBER 29, 1933¹⁷

The League of Nations

... I have, of course, dealt only with the fundamental groups of countries the conflicts between whom now occupy the international arena. It is easy to follow this struggle in all international events, at all congresses, conferences, and international organizations. In the League of Nations this struggle is shown up particularly clearly.

One may, however, concede that the tendencies which are interested in the preservation of peace would seem to be gaining the upper hand in the League of Nations and probably this is the explanation of the deep changes noticeable in the composition of the League. The revision of treaties, disarmament, rearmament, the Four-Power Pact, the reorganization of the League—all these are manifestations and functions of the struggle between the above-mentioned three basic groups of powers.

This, Comrades, is the complex international situation in which Soviet diplomacy has had to work. The responsibility resting on our diplomacy is great and is becoming even greater for all, or nearly all, of the international problems which I have mentioned concern or may touch the interests of our Union.

NO. 18. VIOLATION BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT OF ITS PLEDGE OF
NOVEMBER 16, 1933¹⁸

Note of Protest by the United States

The following is the text of the note presented today to the Acting People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs at Moscow by Ambassador Bullitt and thereafter made available to the press at Moscow by Ambassador Bullitt:

Under instructions from my Government, I have the honor to call attention to the activities, involving interference in the internal affairs of the United States, which have taken place on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in connection with the VII All-World Congress of the Communist International, and, on behalf of the Government of the United States, to lodge a most emphatic protest against this flagrant violation of the pledge given by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on No-

¹⁷ See *Soviet Foreign Policy*, quoted above, pp. 25-26.

¹⁸ Press Releases (The Department of State) Vol. XIII, No. 309, August 31, 1935, p. 147.

vember 16, 1933, with respect to noninterference in the internal affairs of the United States.

That pledge, which was given by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a result of the discussions which took place prior to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, reads in full as follows:

Washington, November 16, 1933

My dear Mr. President,

I have the honor to inform you that coincident with the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two governments it will be the fixed policy of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

1. To respect scrupulously the indisputable right of the United States to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way and to refrain from interfering in any manner in the internal affairs of the United States, its territories or possessions.

2. To refrain, and to restrain all persons in government service and all organizations of the government or under its direct or indirect control, including organizations in receipt of any financial assistance from it, from any act overt or covert liable in any way whatsoever to injure the tranquillity, prosperity, order, or security of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions, and, in particular, from any act tending to incite or encourage armed intervention, or any agitation or propaganda having as an aim, the violation of the territorial integrity of the United States, its territories or possessions, or the bringing about by force of a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions.

3. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group—which makes claim to be the government of, or makes attempt upon the territorial integrity of, the United States, its territories or possessions; not to form, subsidize, support or permit on its territory military organizations or groups having the aim of armed struggle against the United States, its territories or possessions, and to prevent any recruiting on behalf of such organizations and groups.

4. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group,—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group—which has as an aim the overthrow or the preparation for the overthrow of, or the bringing about by force of a change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions.

I am, my dear Mr. President

Very sincerely yours,

MAXIM LITVINOV, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt
President of the United States of America
The White House

My government invites particular attention to the obligations of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics contained in the paragraph numbered 4.

In view of the fact that the aim and activity of an organization, such as the Congress of the Communist International functioning on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, cannot be unknown to the Government of the Union of S. S. R., it does not seem necessary to present material to show the aim of the Congress of the Communist International with respect to the political or social order of the United States or to quote from the published proceedings of the Congress to show its activity relative to the internal affairs of the United States, as evidenced in the discussion at the Congress of the policies and activities of the communist organization in the United States and the determination and formulation by the Congress of policies to be carried out in the United States by the communist organization in the United States. Nor does it appear necessary to list the names of representatives or officials of the communist organization in the United States who were active at the above-mentioned Congress and whose admission into the territory of the U. S. S. R. was, of course, known to the Government of the U. S. S. R.

As I have pointed out to the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs when discussing earlier violations of the undertaking of November 16, 1933, the American people resent most strongly interference by foreign countries in their internal affairs. . . .

The Government of the United States would be lacking in candor if it failed to state frankly that it anticipates the most serious consequences if the Government of the U. S. S. R. is unwilling, or unable to take appropriate measures to prevent further acts in disregard of the solemn pledge given by it to the Government of the United States.

I may add that it is a source of regret that in the present international situation the development of friendly relations between the Russian and American peoples will inevitably be precluded by the continuance on territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in violation of the promise of the Government of the U. S. S. R., of activities involving interference in the internal affairs of the American people.

*Reply of the Soviet Government*¹⁹
(Release August 27)

Moscow, August 27, 1935

Mr. Ambassador,

By note of August 25 of this year you invited my attention to the activity of the Congress of the Communist International which took place at Moscow and, referring to the note of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs Litvinov to the President of the U. S. A., Mr. Roose-

¹⁹ A special statement by the Secretary of State follows this reply.

velt, under date of November 16, 1933, protested against this activity, considered by your government as a violation of the obligations of the Government of the U. S. S. R. concerning noninterference in the internal affairs of the U. S. provided for in the note of November 16, 1933.

In connection therewith I consider it necessary to emphasize with all firmness that the Government of the U. S. S. R. has always regarded and still regards with the greatest respect all obligations which it has taken upon itself including naturally the mutual obligation concerning noninterference in internal affairs provided for in the exchange of notes of November 16, 1933, and discussed in detail in the conversations between the President of the U. S. of America, Mr. Roosevelt, and the People's Commissar Litvinov. There are contained no facts of any kind in your note of August 25 which could be considered as a violation on the part of the Soviet Government of its obligations.

On the other side it is certainly not new to the Government of the U. S. that the Government of the U. S. S. R. cannot take upon itself and has not taken upon itself obligations of any kind with regard to the Communist International.

Hence the assertion concerning the violation by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of the obligations contained in the note of November 16, 1933, does not emanate from obligations accepted by both sides, in consequence of which I cannot accept your protest and am obliged to decline it.

The Government of the U. S. S. R. sincerely sharing the opinion of the Government of the United States of America that strict mutual noninterference in internal affairs is an essential prerequisite for the maintenance of friendly relations between our countries, and steadfastly carrying out this policy in practice, declares that it has as its aim the further development of friendly collaboration between the U. S. S. R. and the United States of America responding to the interests of the people of the Soviet Union and the United States of America and possessing such great importance for the cause of universal peace.

Taking advantage of the occasion, I invite you to accept the assurances of my high esteem.

M. KRESTINSKY

NO. 19. J. STALIN'S REPORT AT THE SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, JANUARY 26, 1934²⁰

. . . I do not think a single period in the last decade has been so rich in events as this. . . .

A result of the protracted economic crisis was the hitherto unprecedented acuteness of the political situation in capitalist countries, both within the respective countries as well as between them.

Japan's war against China, the occupation of Manchuria, Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations and her advance in North China have served to make the situation more acute. The intensified struggle for the Pacific and the growth of the naval armaments of Japan, United States, England and France, represent the results of this increased acuteness.

Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations and the spectre of *revanche* have given a fresh impetus to the acuteness of the situation and to the growth of armaments in Europe.

Again as in 1914 the parties of bellicose imperialism, the parties of war and *revanche* are coming into the foreground.

Quite clearly things are moving toward a new war.

It is quite easy to understand how difficult it has been for the U. S. S. R. to pursue its peace policy in this atmosphere poisoned with the miasma of war combinations.

Of the facts reflecting the successes of the peace policy of the U. S. S. R. two facts of indisputably serious significance should be noted and singled out.

1. I have in mind, first, the change for the better that has taken place recently in the relations between the U. S. S. R. and Poland, between the U. S. S. R. and France.

What is the cause of this change? What stimulates it?

First of all, the growth of the strength and might of the U. S. S. R. In our times it is not the custom to give any consideration to the weak—

²⁰ Report on the work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by Joseph Stalin, 1934, London, Martin Lawrence, pp. 1, 8, 14-18.

consideration is only given to the strong. Then there have been certain changes in the policy of Germany which reflect the growth of *revanche*-ist and imperialist moods in Germany.

In this connection certain German politicians say that now U. S. S. R. has taken an orientation toward France and Poland, that from being an opponent of the Versailles Treaty it has become a supporter of it and that this change is to be explained by the establishment of a fascist régime in Germany. . . . It is not for us, who have experienced the shame of the Brest-Litovsk Peace, to sing the praises of the Versailles Treaty. We merely do not agree to the world being flung into throes of a new war for the sake of this Treaty. . . . We never had any orientation toward Germany nor have we any orientation toward Poland and France. Our orientation . . . is toward the U. S. S. R. alone.

2. Secondly, I have in mind the restoration of normal relations between the U. S. S. R. and the United States. . . . it is a landmark between the old, when the United States in various countries was regarded as the bulwark for all sorts of anti-Soviet tendencies, and the new, when this bulwark was voluntarily removed, to the mutual advantage of both countries.

.....
Nor can we lose sight of the relations between the U. S. S. R. and Japan which stand in need of very considerable improvement.

.....
Our foreign policy is clear. It is a policy of preserving peace and strengthening commercial relations with all countries.
.....

NO. 20. RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE ON THE
ADMISSION OF THE U. S. S. R., SEPTEMBER 15, 1934²¹

The Council,

Having had communicated to it the letter of September 15, 1934, which has been addressed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the President of the Assembly with regard to that State's entering the League of Nations:

Decides, in virtue of the powers which it derives from Article 4 of the Covenant, to appoint the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to be a

²¹ League of Nations *Official Journal*, 1934, July-December, p. 1394. On September 18, 1934, the Assembly of the League approved this decision by a special resolution.

permanent Member of the Council as soon as its admission into the League of Nations has been agreed to by the Assembly;
Invites the Assembly to approve this decision.

NO. 21. RESOLUTION OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN
ON THE REPORT OF DIMITROV, AUGUST 20, 1935²²

In the face of the towering menace of fascism to the working class and all the gains it has made, to all toilers and their elementary rights, to the peace and liberty of the peoples, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International declares that at the present historical stage it is the main and immediate task of the international labor movement to establish the united fighting front of the working class. For a successful struggle against the offensive of capital, against the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie, against fascism, the bitterest enemy of the toilers, who, without distinction of political views, have been deprived of all rights and liberties, it is imperative that unity of action be established between all sections of the working class, irrespective of what organization they belong to, even before the majority of the working class unites on a common fighting platform for the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the proletarian revolution. But it is precisely for this reason that this task makes it the duty of the Communist Parties to take into consideration the changed circumstances and to apply the united front tactics in a new manner, by seeking to reach agreements with the organizations of the toilers of various political trends for joint action on a factory, local, district, national and international scale.

NO. 22. J. STALIN'S SPEECH AT THE EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, MARCH 10, 1939²³

Comrades, Five years have elapsed since the 17th Party Congress. . . . During this period the world has undergone considerable changes. . . .

For the Soviet Union, on the contrary these were years of growth and prosperity, of further economic and cultural progress, of further development of political and military might, of struggle for the preservation of peace throughout the world.

²² International Press Correspondence, English edition, London, Vol. 15, No. 46, September 19, 1935, p. 1178.

²³ *The U. S. S. R. in Home and Foreign Affairs*, Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee, London, 1939, p. 7 ff., p. 16.

Or take Germany, for instance. They let her have Austria, despite the undertaking to defend her independence; they let her have the Sudeten region, they abandoned Czechoslovakia to her fate . . . and then they began to lie vociferously in the press about "the weakness of the Russian army" . . . and "riots" in the Soviet Union, egging the Germans on to march further East, promising them easy pickings and prompting them: "Just start war on the Bolsheviks, and everything will be all right." It must be admitted that this too looks very much like egging on and encouraging the aggressor.

.....
 Nobody believes any longer in the unctuous speeches which claim that the Munich concessions to the aggressors and the Munich agreement opened a new era of "appeasement." They are disbelieved even by the signatories to the Munich agreement, Britain and France, who are increasing their armaments no less than other countries.

. . . In view of this, while our country is unswervingly pursuing a policy of preserving peace, it is also, at the same time, doing a great deal to increase the preparedness of our Red Army and our Red Navy.

.....
 The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is clear and explicit:

(1) We stand for peace and the strengthening of business relations with all countries. That is our position; and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass the interests of our country.

(2) We stand for peaceful, close and friendly relations with all the neighboring countries which have common frontiers with the U. S. S. R.

(3) We stand for the support of nations which are the victims of aggression and are fighting for the independence of their country.

(4) We are not afraid of the threats of aggressors and are ready to deal blow for every blow delivered by instigators of war who attempt to violate the Soviet borders.

Such is the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

.....
 The tasks of the Party in the sphere of foreign policy are:

(1) To continue the policy of peace and of strengthening business relations with all countries;

(2) To be cautious and not allow our country to be drawn into conflicts by warmongers who are accustomed to have others pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them;

(3) To strengthen the might of our Red Army and Red Navy to the utmost;

(4) To strengthen the international bonds of friendship with the working people of all countries, who are interested in peace and friendship among nations.

NO. 23. V. MOLOTOV'S STATEMENT AT THE SUPREME SOVIET ON THE RATIFICATION OF THE SOVIET-GERMAN PACT, AUGUST 31, 1939²⁴

The conclusion of the pact of mutual aid against aggression could only have had any significance if England, France and the Soviet Union had agreed on certain military measures. For a certain time political and military negotiations were conducted at Moscow with the representatives of the British and French armies. However, nothing was achieved by these military negotiations.

.....

The British and French governments are afraid that the conclusion of a serious pact of mutual aid may strengthen the Soviet Union and this, obviously, does not fall in line with their interests. We must conclude that these fears overcome all other considerations. Only in this way can we understand the attitude of Poland, which acts according to the instructions of England and France.

.....

It is a well-known fact that during the last six years after the rise of national socialism to power political relations between Germany and the U. S. S. R. were strained. It is known too that despite the difference of opinions and political systems between both countries the Soviet Government tried to maintain normal business and political relations with Germany.

.....

However Stalin warned against war provocators who in their own interest tend to entangle our country in conflicts with others, especially in connection with the ado raised by the Anglo-French and Northern American press about the German plans to conquer Soviet Ukraine.

.....

²⁴ See V. Molotov's statement on the ratification of the Soviet-German pact of nonaggression at the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. on August 31, 1939, edited by OGIZ (State Publishers), 1939, pp. 6-14. (Translation from the Russian original.)

We have to admit that in this country there are also some short-sighted men, who, being attracted by the vulgar anti-Fascist agitation forgot about the provocative work of our enemies. Comrade Stalin taking in consideration these circumstances raised the question about the possibility of a different relation, i. e. a friendly and good-neighbor understanding between Germany and the U. S. S. R.

Now, apparently in Germany the statements of Stalin were rightly understood and the practical conclusions were drawn.

The conclusion of the Soviet-German pact of nonaggression shows that the historical clairvoyance of Comrade Stalin was brilliantly accurate.

August twenty-third, 1939, when the Soviet-German nonaggression pact was signed must be considered as a date of great historic importance. This pact is a turning point not only in the history of Europe but also of countries beyond Europe.

Only yesterday the German fascists pursued a foreign policy hostile to U. S. S. R. Yes, only yesterday we were enemies in the field of foreign affairs. Today however the environment has changed and we have ceased to be enemies. The political art in foreign relations does not consist in augmenting the number of enemies of our country.

.....
 Even in case it will be impossible to avoid war in Europe, the scale of the military actions will be limited now. Only the warmongers in Europe can be dissatisfied with this new situation, those who under the mask of love of peace attempted to set on fire all of Europe.

This pact is in full accord with the basic interests of the working people of the Soviet Union and cannot weaken our alertness in the defense of our interests. This treaty is strengthened by the strong confidence in our real powers and our preparedness against any kind of aggression against the U. S. S. R.

NO. 24. THE EXCLUSION OF THE U. S. S. R. FROM THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS (RESOLUTION OF THE ASSEMBLY AND THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE), DECEMBER 14, 1939²⁵

Resolution of the Assembly

Whereas, by the aggression which it has committed against Finland,

²⁵ League of Nations *Monthly Summary*, Vol. 19, No. 12, December, 1939. Special Supplement: The Appeal of the Finnish Government to the League of Nations, pp. 60-68.

the U. S. S. R. has failed to observe not only its special political agreements with Finland but also Article 12 of the Covenant of the League and the Pact of Paris;

And whereas, immediately before committing that aggression, it denounced, without legal justification, the Treaty of Nonaggression which it had concluded with Finland in 1932, and which was to remain in force until the end of 1945;

Whereas notwithstanding an invitation extended to it on two occasions, the U. S. S. R. has refused to be present at the examination of its dispute with Finland before the Council and the Assembly;

And whereas it has vainly attempted to justify its refusal on the ground of the relations which it has established with an alleged government which is neither *de jure* nor *de facto* the government recognized by the people of Finland in accordance with the free working of their institutions;

And whereas the U. S. S. R. has not merely violated a covenant of the League, but has by its own action placed itself outside the Covenant;

Recommends the Council to pronounce upon the question.

Resolution of the Council

The Council,

Having taken cognizance of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on December fourteenth, 1939, regarding the appeal of the Finnish Government:

(1) Associates itself with the condemnation by the Assembly of the action of the U. S. S. R. against the Finnish State; and

(2) For the reasons set forth in the resolution of the Assembly,

In virtue of Article 16, paragraph 4, of the Covenant:

Finds, that, by its act, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has placed itself outside the League of Nations. It follows that the U. S. S. R. is no longer a member of the League.

NO. 25. SPEECH OF J. STALIN ON THE PARADE OF THE RED ARMY,
NOVEMBER 7, 1941²⁶

Comrades, in very hard conditions must we celebrate the twenty-

²⁶ J. Stalin, *On the Great Fatherland's War of the Soviet Union*; OGIZ (State Publishers), Moscow, 1942 (Translation from the Russian original), pp. 32-34.

fourth anniversary of the October Revolution. The treacherous onslaught of the German robbers and the war forced upon us, have created a danger to our country. Temporarily we lost a number of regions, the enemy is at the gates of Leningrad and Moscow. The enemy counted upon dispersing our army immediately after its first blows and expected to put our country down on its knees. But the enemy made a great error in its calculations. . . .

Comrades of the Red Army and Red Navy

All the world looks to you as a power able to annihilate the robbing hordes of the German invaders. The enslaved nations of Europe under the yoke of German aggressors look to you as liberators. A great mission of deliverance has fallen upon you. Be worthy of this high mission! The war you are waging is a just war of liberation.

Let us be inspired in this war by the valiant images of our great ancestors—Alexander Nevski,²⁷ Dimitrii Donskoi,²⁸ Kuzma Minin,²⁹ Dimitrii Pojarski,²⁹ Alexander Suvorov³⁰ and Mikhail Kutuzov.³⁰ May the victorious banner of Lenin watch over you.

For the full destruction of the German plunderers;

Death to the German occupants;

Long live our glorious fatherland, its freedom and independence;

Under the banner of Lenin—forward to victory.

NO. 26. JOINT DECLARATION BY UNITED NATIONS (RELEASED TO THE PRESS BY THE WHITE HOUSE), JANUARY 2, 1942³¹

A Joint Declaration by the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet

²⁷ Prince Alexander Nevski (1220–1263), the victorious army leader against the Teutonic Knights of Livonia in 1242, later on canonized by the Orthodox Church.

²⁸ Great Prince Dimitrii Donskoi (1350–1389), commander-in-chief against the Tartars, whom he had beaten in the famous battle of Kulikovo (1380).

²⁹ K. Minin and Prince D. Pojarski, the leaders of the Russian People's militia against the Polish occupants of Moscow and Russia (1611–1613).

³⁰ A. Suvorov (1730–1800), Imperial Generalissimus, the most famous and successful Russian Field-Marshal. M. Kutuzov (1745–1813), the famous field marshal and victorious army leader against the Napoleonic invasion of Russia (1812) during the so-called Fatherland's War. Both were made princes.

³¹ The Department of State *Bulletin*, January 3, 1942, U. S. Executive Agreement Series, No. 236.

Socialist Republics, China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxemburg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, South Africa, Yugoslavia.

The governments signatory hereto, having subscribed to a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the Joint Declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and New Ireland dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter,³²

Being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, Declare:

(1) Each government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such government is at war.

(2) Each government pledges itself to cooperate with the governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are, or which may be, rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism.

Done at Washington,

January First, 1942
Signed: MAXIM LITVINOV,
Ambassador

NO. 27. NOTE SUBMITTED BY THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE U. S. S. R., V. MOLOTOV, TO THE AMBASSADORS AND MINISTERS OF ALL COUNTRIES WITH WHICH THE U. S. S. R. MAINTAINS DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, MOSCOW, JANUARY 6, 1942³³

(Concerning the universal robbery and despoliation of the population, and the monstrous atrocities perpetuated by the German authorities on occupied Soviet territory.)

. . . In bringing all the atrocities perpetrated by the German invaders

³² Bulletin of August 16, 1941.

³³ See Note submitted by V. Molotov, etc., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1942, p. 20.

to the cognizance of all governments with which the U. S. S. R. maintains diplomatic relations, the Soviet Government declares that it places the entire responsibility for these inhuman and murderous actions of the German troops upon the criminal Hitlerite government of Germany.

The Government of the U. S. S. R. further declares with unshakable conviction that the liberation struggle of the Soviet Union is a struggle not only for the rights and the freedom of all the liberty-loving nations of the earth, and that this war can end only in the complete defeat of the Hitlerite armies and in a complete victory over Hitlerite tyranny.

V. MOLOTOV

NO. 28. V. M. MOLOTOV'S REPORT ON THE CONCLUSION OF THE
ANGLO-SOVIET TREATY OF MAY 26, 1942³⁴

Comrades, Deputies, the government has deemed it necessary to submit to the Supreme Soviet for examination and ratification the Anglo-Soviet Treaty concluded on May 26 in London. It does so in view of the great political importance of this treaty. The treaty consolidates the friendly relations which have arisen between the Soviet Union and Great Britain in their mutual military assistance in the struggle against Hitlerite Germany and transforms these relations into a stable alliance. The treaty likewise defines the common line of our joint action with Great Britain in the postwar period. The entire contents of the treaty bears out its great political importance not only as regards the development of Anglo-Soviet relations, but also as regards the future development of the entire complex of international relation in Europe.

This agreement frustrated Hitler's plans to divide his adversaries and Hitler's hope of combating each one of them separately. July 12 of last year marked the turning point in the development of Anglo-Soviet relations. On that day the foundation was laid of the friendship and fellowship in arms between our countries in the struggle against their common sworn enemy and in the interests of the great future of our nations.

The next stage in the development of the Anglo-Soviet and, at the same time, Soviet-American relations, was the well-known Moscow Three-Power Conference, which was attended by Lord Beaverbrook, representing Great Britain, and Mr. Harriman representing the United States

³⁴ Ratification of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of May 26, 1942, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1942, pp. 7, 8, 10-11, 13-14. The speech was given on June 18, 1942, at the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R.

of America, and which completed its labors on October first last year. At this conference a plan was drawn up for the delivery of munitions to the Soviet Union from Great Britain and the United States.

As regards the first part of the treaty it may be said that in the main it repeats the contents of the well-known Anglo-Soviet Agreement of July 12 of last year and transforms this agreement into a formal treaty. Lending greater precision to last year's agreement, this part of the treaty provides for mutual military and other assistance and support not only against Germany but also against "all those States which are associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe."

The second part of the treaty is comparatively new. The significance of this part of the treaty lies firstly in the fact that it lays down for the first time the basic principles for friendly collaboration between the U. S. S. R. and Great Britain after the war. It also provides for the collaboration of the two countries with other united nations in the peace settlement and in the postwar period, this collaboration being conceived on the lines of the basic principles of the well-known Atlantic Charter to which the U. S. S. R. at the time adhered. There can be no doubt that an agreement of this kind will be of great significance to the entire future development of Europe.

The two countries have agreed to collaborate after peace has been restored, "for the organization of security and economic prosperity in Europe."

.....

Stressing the absence of any desire for territorial aggrandizement for themselves and noninterference in the internal affairs of other States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain proclaim the friendly principles of their policy toward all freedom-loving nations, and at the same time point to the fundamental difference between their policy and the aggressive policy of Hitlerite Germany, which is fighting to seize the territory of other nations and to enslave them.

.....

It is also asked whether in addition to the published treaty any secret agreements between the U. S. S. R. and Great Britain were concluded. I must declare with all responsibility that these assumptions are absolutely groundless, and that there are no secret Anglo-Soviet agreements, nor are there any secret Soviet-American agreements.

After all that has been said, one cannot help associating oneself with the words uttered by Mr. Eden in his speech on the signing of the treaty

when he said: "Never before in the history of our two countries has our association been so close or our mutual pledge for the future so complete. This is surely a happy augury."

Lastly, in Washington as in London were discussed all the basic problems of collaboration between the Soviet Union and the United States in insuring peace and security for the freedom-loving nations after the war. In this, as in the other fundamental questions of our relations, the parties noted with satisfaction our mutual understanding and identity of views.

.....

The treaty with Great Britain, as well as the results of our negotiations in London and Washington, strengthen our confidence, the confidence of the Red Army and of the entire Soviet people, that the united forces of the adversaries of Hitler's army are growing ever stronger and becoming more consolidated. They strengthen our conviction that the defeat of the German invaders is drawing near, that our victory over the predatory German imperialism will now be greatly accelerated. (Applause.) The growing strength of the Red Army, the invincible Soviet rear, and the increasing military assistance of our allies will defeat all the designs of the German fascist invaders. Our forces are growing and our confidence in victory is greater than ever. (Applause.)

.....

Under the great banner of Lenin and Stalin we are waging our heroic struggle of liberation against German fascism. Under the great banner of Lenin and Stalin we shall carry this struggle to a victorious conclusion and to the triumph of the cause of our country and of all freedom-loving nations.

NO. 29. J. STALIN'S SPEECH AT THE MOSCOW SOVIET TO THE
 TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER
 REVOLUTION, NOVEMBER 6, 1942³⁵

... It is said that the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition has every chance of winning and will certainly win if it did not have one organic defect which is capable of weakening and disintegrating it.

This defect, in the opinion of these people, is that this coalition consists of heterogeneous elements with different ideologies and that this circumstance will prevent their organizing joint action against the common enemy.

³⁵ *The New York Times*, November 7, 1942, under "Stalin's Speech on War and Soviet's International Relations."

I think this assertion is wrong. It would be ridiculous to deny the difference in ideologies and social systems of the countries composing the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition. But does this preclude the possibility and expediency of joint action on the part of members of this coalition against the common enemy who holds out the threat of enslavement for them? It certainly does not.

More than that, the existence of this threat imperatively imposes the necessity of joint action upon the members of the coalition in order to save mankind from a reversion to savagery and medieval brutality.

Is not the program of action of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition a sufficient basis for the organization of the joint struggle against the Hitlerite tyranny and for the achievement of victory over it? I think that it is quite sufficient.

The assumption of these people is also wrong because of the fact that it is completely refuted by the events of the past year and, indeed, if these people were right we should be observing a progressive mutual alienation of members of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition.

Yet far from observing this we have facts and events pointing to a progressive rapprochement between the members of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition and their uniting into a single fighting alliance. The events of the past year supply direct proof of this.

In July, 1941, several weeks after Germany attacked the U. S. S. R., Great Britain concluded with us an agreement "on Germany." Up to that time we had not yet had an agreement with the United States of America on this subject.

Ten months later, May 26, 1942, during Comrade Molotov's visit to Great Britain, the latter concluded with us a treaty of alliance in the war against Hitlerite Germany and her associates in Europe and of collaboration and mutual assistance thereafter.

This treaty was concluded for a period of twenty years. It marked a historic turning point in relations between our country and Great Britain.

In June, 1942, during Comrade Molotov's visit to the United States, the United States of America concluded with us an agreement on principle applying to mutual aid in prosecution of the war against aggression, the agreement representing a substantial advance in relations between the U. S. S. R. and the United States.

Lastly, one should mention so important a fact as the visit to Moscow of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Churchill, which established complete mutual understanding between the leaders of the two countries.

There can be no doubt that all these facts point to progressive rapprochement between the U. S. S. R., Great Britain and the United States of America, who today are uniting in a fighting alliance against the Italo-German coalition.

It follows that the logic of things is stronger than any other logic. There can be only one conclusion, namely, that the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition has every chance of vanquishing the Italo-German coalition, and certainly will vanquish it. . . .

B. Treaties, Conventions and Other Diplomatic Acts

NO. 1. THE MANIFESTO OF THE LITHUANIAN DIET ("TARYBA") CONCERNING THE DECLARATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF LITHUANIA ON DECEMBER 11, 1917³⁶

The Lithuanian Diet, recognized by the Lithuanians residing in their country as well as by those residing abroad, as the only authorized representation of the Lithuanian people, guided by the principle of the rights of self determination and in accordance with the decision of the Lithuanian Conference held at Vilna from September 18 till September 23, 1918, hereby declares the restoration of the independence of the State of Lithuania with Vilna as its capital and with the termination of all previous State liaisons, by which it was tied with other nations.

On February 16, 1918, the Diet passed a resolution to be forwarded to the governments of Russia, Germany and other States in which it informed about the restoration of the independence of the Lithuanian State, based on the democratic principles.

NO. 2. STATEMENT MADE BY THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC TO UKRAINE, DECEMBER 19, 1917³⁷

To the Ukraine Central Rada

Concerning the recognition of the Ukrainian People's Republic by the Council of People's Commissars (of the R. S. F. S. R.) and of presenting an ultimatum to the Central Rada in view of its counter-revolutionary activities of December 4, 1917.

³⁶ Kluchnikov, *ibid.* 96.

³⁷ C. E., December 19, 1917, No. 5, Art. 90.

NO. 3. DECISION CONCERNING THE REPUBLIC OF FINLAND,
DECEMBER 20, 1917³⁸

In reply to the Finnish Government's communication concerning the recognition of the independence of the Finnish Republic the Council of People's Commissars in full conformity with the principle of the nation's right to self-determination, decreed:

To make a proposal to the Central Executive Committee:

(a) To recognize the independence of the State of Finland.

NO. 4. TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN UKRAINE AND THE CENTRAL
POWERS SIGNED AT BREST-LITOVSK, FEBRUARY 9, 1918³⁹

Whereas the Ukrainian people has in the course of the present World War declared its independence and has expressed the desire to establish a state of peace between the Ukrainian People's Republic and the powers at present at war with Russia, the Governments of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey have resolved to conclude a treaty of peace with the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic.

.....
For the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic, A. Sevruck (and others), Members of the Ukrainian Central Rada have met at Brest-Litovsk

Article 1. Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey on the one hand, and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the other hand, declare that the state of war between them is at an end. The contracting parties are resolved henceforth to live in peace and amity with one another.

NO. 5. THE PEACE TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK BETWEEN RUSSIA
AND GERMANY, AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, BULGARIA AND
TURKEY, MARCH 3, 1918⁴⁰

Article 2. The contracting parties will refrain from any agitation or propaganda against the government or the public and military institutions of the other party

Article 3. The territories lying to the west of the line agreed upon by the contracting parties, which formerly belonged to Russia, will no

³⁸ C. E. December 29, 1917, No. 11, Art. 163.

³⁹ J. Wheeler-Bennett, *The Forgotten Peace*, N. Y. 1939, Appendix IV, p. 392.

⁴⁰ See Texts in the Russian "Peace" (with maps), Washington, Department of State, 1918.

longer be subject to Russian sovereignty. . . . Russia refrains from all interference in the internal relations of these territories. Germany and Austria-Hungary purpose to determine the future status of these territories in agreement with their population.

Article 6. Russia assumes the obligation to conclude peace at once with the Ukrainian People's Republic and to recognize the treaty of peace between that State and the powers of the Quadruple Alliance.

The Ukrainian territory will, without delay, be cleared of Russian troops and the Russian Red Guard. Russia is to put an end to all agitation or propaganda against the government or the public institutions of the Ukrainian People's Republic.

Esthonia and Livonia will likewise, without delay, be cleared of Russian troops. . . . Esthonia and Livonia will be occupied by a German police force until security is insured by proper national institutions and until public order has been established.

Finland and the Aaland Islands will immediately be cleared of Russian troops Russia is to put an end to all agitation or propaganda against the government or the public institutions of Finland.

NO. 6. DECLARATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF GEORGIA, TIFLIS,
MAY 26, 1918⁴¹

The National Council of Georgia elected by the National Assembly of Georgia on November 22, 1917, declared before the whole people

1. The people of Georgia shall be from now on the bearer of the sovereign rights and Georgia itself shall be an independent State of full rights.

2. A democratic republic shall take the form of the political structure of the independent Georgia.

3. In cases of international clashes Georgia shall permanently remain neutral.

4. The Georgian democratic republic endeavors to establish friendly neighbor relations with all the members of the international family, and particularly with the neighboring peoples and States.

5. The Georgian democratic republic guarantees within its borders the civil and political rights to all citizens regardless of their nationality, religion, social status and sex.

⁴¹ Documents on the Foreign Policy of Transcaucasia and Georgia, Georgian Government Publication, Tiflis, 1919, p. 336 (No. 165) (Russian).

The Brest-Litovsk Treaty was denounced by Russia on November 13, 1918.

NO. 7. SUPPLEMENTARY TREATY TO THE TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN
RUSSIA AND THE CENTRAL POWERS, BERLIN, AUGUST 27, 1918⁴²

Guided by the wish to solve certain political questions which have arisen in connection with the Peace Treaty of March 3, 1918, between Germany, etc. for the one part and Russia for the other part, etc.

Part II. *Separatist Movements in the Russian Empire*

Article 4. In so far as is not otherwise prescribed in the Peace Treaty or in this supplementary treaty, Germany will in no wise interfere in relations between the Russian Empire and parts of its territories and will thus in particular neither cause nor support the formation of independent States in those territories.

Part IV. *Estonia, Livonia, Courland, and Lithuania*

Article 7. Russia, taking account of the condition at present existing in Esthonia and Lithuania renounces sovereignty over these regions as well as all interference in their internal affairs. Their future fate shall be decided in agreement with their inhabitants.

Part VI. *The Caucasus*

Article 14. Russia agrees to Germany's recognizing Georgia as an independent State.

NO. 8. THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF LATVIA ON
NOVEMBER 18, 1918⁴³

The Latvian National Council (Latvijas Tautas Padome) considering itself to be the sole repository of sovereign power in Latvia proclaims the following: (1) Latvia united in its ethnographic limits (Courland, Livonia, and Latgale) is an autonomous, independent, democratic and republican State, whose constitution and relations with foreign countries are specifically defined by the Constituent Assembly, convoked on the basis of direct, equal, secret and proportional suffrage of the two sexes. (2) The Latvian National Council has established a Provisional Government of Latvia as the supreme executive power in Latvia.

⁴² J. Wheeler-Bennett, *The Forgotten Peace*, pp. 427, 429.

⁴³ Collection of Latvian Laws (Lik. kr. 1919, No. 1) (Lettish).

The Latvian National Council asks the citizens of Latvia to maintain peace and order and to assist the Provisional Government with all their might in its difficult and responsible task.

The Minister-President of the Latvian Provisional
Government

ULMANIS

The Vice-President of the Latvian National
Council

SEMGALS

NO. 9 TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND ESTHONIA SIGNED
AT TARTU ON FEBRUARY 2, 1920⁴⁴

Esthonia of the one part and Russia of the other part, moved by a sincere desire to put an end to the war which has broken out between them, have decided to enter into peace negotiations and . . . to conclude peace.

Article 2. On the basis of the right of all peoples freely to decide their own destinies, and even to separate themselves completely from the State of which they form a part, a right proclaimed by the Russian Socialist Federated Republic, Russia unreservedly recognizes the independence and autonomy of the State of Esthonia, and renounces voluntarily and forever all rights of sovereignty formerly held by Russia over the Esthonian people and territory by virtue of the former legal situation, and by virtue of the international treaties, which, in respect of such rights, shall henceforth lose their force.

No obligation toward Russia devolves upon the Esthonian people and territory from the fact that Esthonia was formerly part of Russia.

Article 5. Should the perpetual neutrality of Esthonia be internationally recognized, Russia undertakes to respect such neutrality and to join in guaranteeing it.

Article 7. The two contracting parties undertake:

(1) To forbid the presence on their territory of any troops except those of their own governments

(2) To disarm such land and sea forces as are in their territory and, where not in the service of either of the two contracting governments on October 1, 1919

Article 11. Russia surrenders any claim to the transfer, or repayment of the value, of property of the former Russian Empire, of whatever nature, whether real or other estate, situated in Esthonia and forming the common property of the whole nation. . . .

⁴⁴ See League of Nations Treaty Series, Vol. XI, p. 51 (translation).

All claims of the Russian Treasury against Esthonian subjects if recoverable in Esthonia, pass to Esthonia, but only in so far as they cannot be set off by counterclaims on the part of the debtors. . . .

Esthonia, for her part, shall not be entitled to bring against Russia any claim based on her former status as a part of the Russian Empire.

Article 12. Notwithstanding the agreements concluded in Article 11 (1) Russia grants to Esthonia 15,000,000 of gold rubles. . . .

(2) Esthonia shall bear no part in the responsibility for the debts or any other obligations of Russia; . . . All claims of the creditors of Russia for debts relating to Esthonia shall be brought against Russia exclusively.

(4) The Russian Government shall restore to the Esthonian Government all property of the University of Tartu and of other educational institutions which is or was situated in Esthonian territory and have been removed to Russia. Such property shall include libraries, records, documents and, in general, all other objects having a scientific or historical interest for Esthonia

(5) The Russian Government shall restore to the Esthonian Government, which shall deliver them to their owners, all objects of value, except gold and precious stones, negotiable securities, etc., etc.

NO. 10 PEACE TREATY BETWEEN LITHUANIA AND THE RUSSIAN
SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC SIGNED ON
JULY 12, 1920⁴⁵

Article 1. Proceeding from the right proclaimed by the R. S. F. S. R. of all nations to free self-determination up to their complete separation from the State into the composition of which they enter Russia recognizes without reservation the sovereign rights and independence of the Lithuanian State, with all the juridical consequences arising from such recognition, and voluntarily and for all time abandons all the sovereign rights of Russia over the Lithuanian people and their territories.

The fact of the past subjection of Lithuania to Russia does not impose on the Lithuanian nation and its territory any liabilities whatsoever toward Russia.

Article 5. In the event of international recognition of the permanent neutrality of Lithuania, Russia on its part undertakes to conform to such neutrality and to participate in the guarantees for the maintenance of same.

Article 8. Both contracting parties mutually renounce all accounts whatsoever arising from the fact of Lithuania having in the past belonged

⁴⁵ League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. III, p. 122.

to the past Russian Empire and acknowledge that State property of various denominations, existing on the territory of either of them, constitutes the inalienable property of the respective State. . . .

To the Lithuanian State are transferred all the claims of the Russian Treasury burdening properties situated within the Lithuanian State. . . .

Article 9. The Russian Government shall return at its expense to Lithuania, and shall hand over to the Lithuanian Government, the libraries, archives, museums, objects of vertu, educational supplies, documents and other property of educational establishments . . . in so far as the said objects have been removed beyond the limits of Lithuania during the World War of 1914-17. . . .

Article 12. The Russian Government, taking into consideration that during the World War Lithuania has been almost entirely ruined . . . expresses its willingness:

(1) To release Lithuania from responsibilities in regard to the debts and any other liabilities of Russia

(2) In the localities nearest to the frontiers of Lithuania . . . to grant to Lithuanian Government the right to cut timber over an area of 100,000 ssiatins during the period of twenty years.

(3) To give to the Lithuanian Government 3,000,000 rubles in gold. . . .

NO. II TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN LATVIA AND RUSSIA OF
AUGUST 11, 1920⁴⁶

Article 1. The state of war between the contracting parties shall cease from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty.

Article 2. By virtue of the principle proclaimed by the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic which establishes the right of self-determination for all nations, even to the point of total separation from the States, with which they have been incorporated, and in view of the desire expressed by the Latvian people to possess an independent national existence, Russia unreservedly recognizes the independence and sovereignty of the Latvian State and voluntarily and irrevocably renounces all sovereign rights over the Latvian people and territory which formerly belonged to Russia under the then existing constitutional law as well as under international treaties, which, in the sense here indicated, shall in future cease to be valid. The previous status of subjection of Latvia to Russia shall not entail any obligation toward Russia on the part of the Latvian people or territory.

⁴⁶ League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. II, p. 212.

Article 10. The two contracting parties mutually abandon all claims arising from the fact that Latvia once formed part of Russia Rights which may be claimed by Russia over legal entities or over other States are transferred to the Latvian State in so far as such rights concern Latvian territory.

The Latvian State takes over all claims of the Russian Treasury against property situated within Latvian territory as well as credits of every kind against Latvian citizens. . . .

Article 12. The Russian Government restores to Latvia all property which was evacuated to Russia during the World War of 1914-17, belonging to religious, civil, charitable or educational administrations. . . .

Article 16. Taking into consideration the damage suffered by Latvia owing to the World War of 1914-17 Russia:

(1) Exempts Latvia from all responsibility with regard to all the debts and obligations of Russia . . . all claims of this nature, lodged by the creditors of Russia must be exclusively addressed to Russia.

(2) With a view to assisting the Latvian peasants in the restoration of buildings destroyed in the course of the war, the latter is accorded the rights to cut down wood, woods, etc. . . .

NO. 12 PRELIMINARY TREATY OF PEACE AND ARMISTICE CONDITIONS
BETWEEN POLAND AND R. S. F. S. R. AND UKRAINIAN
SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC, SIGNED AT RIGA ON
OCTOBER 12, 1920⁴⁷

In accordance with the principle that peoples have the right of self-determination, the two contracting parties recognize the independence of the Ukraine and of White Russia, and accept and decide that the eastern frontier of Poland . . . shall be as follows:

Article 2. Each of the two contracting parties reciprocally undertake to respect the national sovereignty of the other and to abstain from nay intervention in the internal affairs of the other

Article 4. The two contracting parties undertake to insert in the treaty of peace provisions to assure to Polish citizens in Russia and in the Ukraine, on the one hand, all the rights which guarantee to them the free development of their national culture, of their language and of their religious worship

Article 10. (1) Poland shall not incur any obligations or debts of any kind arising from the fact that a part of the Polish territory previously belonged to the former Russian Empire.

⁴⁷ League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. IV, p. 33.

(3) In the mutual reckoning and payment of accounts, the active participation of Poland in the economic life of the Russian Empire shall be taken into consideration.

(5) An undertaking will be given to restore to Poland archives libraries, art objects,

NO. 13 THE PEACE TREATY BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF FINLAND
AND THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC,
TARTU, OCTOBER 14, 1920⁴⁸

Whereas Finland declared its independence in 1917, and Russia has recognized the independence and the sovereignty of Finland within the frontiers of the Great Duchy of Finland the government of both parties actuated by a desire to put an end to the war have resolved to conclude a treaty with this object in view:

Article 4. The territory of Petschenga⁴⁹ . . . shall be ceded by Russia to Finland in perpetuity and placed under the unrestricted sovereignty of the latter. Russia abandons in favor of Finland all rights and claims to the above-mentioned territory.

NO. 14 TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN PERSIA AND THE RUSSIAN
SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC ON
FEBRUARY 26, 1921⁵⁰

Article 1. In order to confirm its declaration regarding Russia's basic policy toward the Persian nation, which formed the subject of correspondence on January 14, 1918, and June, 1919, the R. S. F. S. R. formally affirms once again that it definitely renounces the tyrannical policy carried out by the Imperialistic Governments of Russia which have been overthrown by the will of the workers and peasants of Russia.

Inspired by this principle and desiring that the Persian people should be happy and independent, and should be able to dispose freely of its patrimony, the Russian Soviet Government declares the whole body of treaties and conventions concluded with Persia by the Czarist government which crushed the rights of the Persian people, to be null and void.

Article 2. The R. S. F. S. R. expresses its reprobation of the policy of the Czarist government of Russia which on the pretext of insuring the independence of the peoples of Asia, concluded without the consent of

⁴⁸ *Izvestia*, No. 238, October 23, 1920.

⁴⁹ Petschenga is the Russian name for Petsamo.

⁵⁰ Kluchnikov and Sabanin, *ibid.*, Part III (No. 51) p. 89.

the latter, treaties with European powers, the sole object of which was to subjugate this people.

This criminal policy, which infringed upon the independence of the countries of Asia and which made the living nations of the East a prey to the cupidity and the tyranny of European robbers, is abandoned unconditionally by the Russian Soviet Government.

The Russian Soviet Government, therefore, in accordance with the principles laid down in Articles 1 and 4 of this treaty, declares its refusal to participate in any action which might destroy or weaken Persian government. It regards as null and void the whole body of treaties and conventions concluded by the former Russian governments with third parties in respect to Persia or to the detriment of that country.

Article 3. . . . In view of the repugnance which the Russian Soviet Government feels to enjoying the fruit of the policy of usurpation of the Czarist government, it renounces all claims to the . . . islands and . . . to other lands ceded to Russia in virtue of the convention of May 28, 1893.

Article 4. In consideration of the fact that each nation has the right to determine freely its political destiny, each of the two contracting parties formally expresses its desire to abstain from any intervention in the internal affairs of the other.

Article 6. If a third party shall attempt to carry out a policy of usurpation by means of armed intervention in Persia, or if such Power should desire to use Persian territory as a base of operations against Russia or if a foreign Power should threaten the frontiers of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic or those of its allies, and if the Persian Government should not be able to put a stop to such menace after having been once called upon to do so by Russia, Russia shall have the right to advance her troops into Persian territory or for the purpose of carrying out the military operations necessary for its defense. Russia undertakes, however, to withdraw her troops from Persian territory as soon as the danger has been removed.

Article 8. Russian Soviet Government finally renounces the economic policy pursued in the East by the Czarist government which consisted in lending money to the Persian Government not with a view to the economic development of the country but rather for the purpose of political subjugation.

Russian Soviet Government accordingly renounces its rights in respect of the loans granted to Persia by the Czarist governments and it regards the debts due to it as void, and will not require its repayment. Russia,

likewise, renounces its claims to the resources of Persia which were specified as security for the loans in question.

Article 9. In view of the declaration by which it has repudiated the colonial and capitalist policy which occasioned so many misfortunes and was the cause of so much bloodshed, the Russian Soviet Government abandons the continuation of the economic undertakings of the Czarist government, the object of which was the economic subjugation of Persia. The Russian Soviet Government therefore cedes to the Persian Government the full ownership of all funds and of all real and other property which the Russian Discount Bank possesses on Persian territory.

Article 10. The Russian Soviet Government having abandoned the colonial policy which consisted in the construction of roads and telegraph lines more in order to obtain military influence in other countries than for the purpose of developing their civilization, and being desirous of providing the Persian people with those means of communications indispensable for the independence and development of any nation, and also in order to compensate the Persian people as far as possible for the losses incurred by the sojourn of its territory of the Czarist armies, cedes free of charge to the Persian Government the following installations:

- (a) The high roads from . . . to
- (b) The railroad
- (c) The landing stages, warehouses, steamships, canals, etc.
- (d) All telegraph and telephone lines established by the Czarist government, etc.

Article 11. The treaty of February 10, 1828, between Persia and Russia which forbids Persia to have vessels in the waters of the Caspian Sea is hereby abrogated in accordance with the principles set forth in Article 1 of the present treaty.

Article 12. The Russian Soviet Government having officially renounced all economic interest obtained by military preponderance, declares that all the concessions obtained by force by the Czarist government and its subjects shall be also regarded as null and void. In conformity with which, the Russian Soviet Government restores to the Persian Government all the concessions in question, together with all land, etc.

Article 15. In accordance with the principles of liberty of conscience proclaimed by Soviet Russia and with a desire to put an end in the Moslem countries to religious propaganda,⁵¹ the real object of which was to

⁵¹ Meaning the religious propaganda of the Russian Orthodox Church.

exercise political influence over the masses, and thus to satisfy the rapacity of the Czarist government, the Government of Soviet Russia declares that religious settlements established in Persia by the former Czarist government are abolished.

Soviet Russia cedes unconditionally to Persia the lands, buildings, etc. belonging to the Orthodox Mission. The Persian Government shall use their properties for the construction of schools, etc. intended for educational purposes.

Article 16. By virtue of the communication from Soviet Russia dated June 25, 1919, with reference to the abolition of Consular jurisdiction, it is decided that Russian subjects in Persia . . . shall as from the date of the present treaty, be placed upon the same footing as other inhabitants.⁵²

NO. 15. THE TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN POLAND, RUSSIA AND THE
UKRAINE SIGNED AT RIGA ON MARCH 18, 1921⁵³

Poland, on the one part, and Russia and Ukraine on the other, being desirous of putting an end to the war . . . agreed to the following provisions:

Article 2. The two contracting parties in accordance with the principle of national self-determination, recognize the independence of the Ukraine and of White Ruthenia,⁵⁴ and agree and decide that the eastern frontiers of Poland . . . shall be as follows

Article 3. Russia and the Ukraine abandon all rights and claims to the territories situated to the west of the frontier laid down by Article 2 of the present treaty. . . .

Article 4. Poland shall not, in view of the fact that the part of the territories of the Polish Republic formerly belonged to the Russian Empire, be held to have incurred any debt or obligation toward Russia, except as provided in the present treaty.

Similarly, no debt or obligation shall be regarded as incurred by Poland toward White Ruthenia or the Ukraine and vice versa, except as provided in the present treaty owing to the fact that these countries formerly belonged to the Russian Empire.

Article 5. Each of the contracting parties mutually undertakes to respect in every way the political sovereignty of the other party to abstain

⁵² A similar treaty was concluded between Soviet Russia and Turkey on March 16, 1921. C. E., December 12, 1921, No. 73, Art. 598.

⁵³ League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. VI, p. 123.

⁵⁴ White Russia is called sometimes Byelo-Russia or White Ruthenia, the last being taken from the Austrian terminology.

from interference in its internal affairs and particularly to refrain from all agitation, propaganda or interference of any kind, and not to encourage any such movement.

Article 7. (Subdiv. 1) Russia and the Ukraine undertake that persons of Polish nationality in Russia, the Ukraine and White Ruthenia, shall, in conformity with the principle of equality of peoples, enjoy full guarantees of free intellectual development, the use of their national language and the exercise of their religion.

Poland undertakes to recognize the same rights in the case of persons of Russian, Ukrainian or White Ruthenian nationality in Poland.

(Subdiv. 2) The two contracting parties mutually undertake not to interfere directly or indirectly in questions concerning the organization and work of the church and of the religious associations within the territory of the other party.

Article 11. Russia and the Ukraine shall restore to Poland the following objects which were removed from the territory of the Polish Republic to Russia and the Ukraine subsequent to January 1, 1772.

(Subdiv. 9) Russia and the Ukraine agree to make restitution to Poland of such of the following objects . . . taken . . . into Russia and the Ukraine from the territory of the Polish Republic after August 1, 1914.

Article 12. . . . All rights and titles of the Russian Treaty to property of any nature which is within the limits of Polish territory . . . shall be placed to the credit of the Polish Government.

Article 13. Russia and Ukraine agree to pay to Poland . . . the sum of 30,000,000 rubles in gold . . . on the ground of the active participation of the territory of the Polish Republic in the economic life of the former Russian Empire.

Article 15. Russia and the Ukraine agree that upon the request of the Polish Government, supported by the declarations of the owners, restitution shall be made to Poland for the purpose of restoration to their owners of all property belonging to self-governing and municipal administration, institutions and legal and physical persons, which was carried off . . . from the territory of the Polish Republic into Russia and Ukraine during the period beginning August 1, 1914,

Article 16. Russia and Ukraine agree to settle with Poland the accounts which . . . in virtue of the regulations in force were deposited or placed on account in the State Banks or the credit institutions of the former Russian Empire.

Article 19. Russia and Ukraine hereby discharge Poland from all responsibilities in respect of debts and obligations of whatever nature incurred by the former Russian Empire . . . with the exception of guarantees granted to institutions and undertakings on Polish territory.

NO. 16. TREATY BETWEEN THE LATVIAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AND
THE UKRAINIAN SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC RESPECTING
FUTURE RELATIONS SIGNED AT MOSCOW ON
AUGUST 3, 1921⁵⁵

Article 1. The Latvian Democratic Republic and the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic established by the will of their peoples shall unreservedly recognize each other as independent sovereign States with all the legal consequences resulting therefrom

Latvia and Ukraine declare that the fact of the past adherence of their territories and nations to the Russian Empire does not impose on them any mutual liabilities whatsoever.

Article 10. The contracting parties shall undertake immediately after the ratification of the present treaty to conclude treaties regarding commerce and transit and a postal and telegraphic convention.

Article 11. Diplomatic and Consular relations between the contracting parties shall be established immediately after the ratification of the present treaty. *Note.* Not later than three months after the ratification of the present treaty, both parties shall be bound to conclude a consular convention.

NO. 17. TREATY BETWEEN THE ESTHONIAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
AND THE UKRAINIAN SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC
RESPECTING FUTURE RELATIONS, SIGNED AT
MOSCOW, NOVEMBER 25, 1921⁵⁶

The Esthonian Democratic Republic, of the one part, and the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic of the other . . . have resolved to enter into negotiations and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries

Article 1. The Esthonian Democratic Republic and the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic established by the will of their peoples, shall mutually recognize each other's independence, freedom and sovereignty and all the legal consequences resulting therefrom.

⁵⁵ G. Albat, *Recueil des principaux traités conclus par la Lettonie*, 1918-1928, Riga, 1928, Vol. I, p. 39.

⁵⁶ League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. VII, p. 345.

Article 2. Esthonia and Ukraine declared that the fact that their territory and people were formerly within the jurisdiction of the Russian Empire, shall not entail any mutual obligations on the part of the two contracting parties.

Article 12. The contracting parties shall undertake . . . to conclude a treaty regarding commerce and transit and a postal and telegraph convention.

Article 14. Diplomatic and Consular relations between the contracting parties shall be established immediately after the recognition of the present treaty.

After the ratification both parties shall be bound immediately to conclude a Consular convention

NO. 18. GERMAN-RUSSIAN AGREEMENT, SIGNED AT RAPALLO,
APRIL 16, 1922⁵⁷

The German Government, represented by Dr. Walther Rathenau, Minister of State, and the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, represented by M. Chicherin, People's Commissar, have agreed upon the following provisions:

Article 1. The two governments are agreed that the arrangements arrived at between the German Reich and the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic with regard to questions dating from the period of the war between Germany and Russia, shall be definitely settled upon the following basis:

(a) The German Reich and the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic mutually agree to waive their claims for compensation for expenditure incurred on account of the war, and also for war damages, that is to say, any damages which may have been suffered by them and by their nationals in war zones on account of military measures, including all requisitions in enemy country. Both Parties likewise agree to forego compensation for any civilian damages, which may have been suffered by the nationals of the one Party on account of so-called exceptional war measures or on account of emergency measures carried out by the other Party.

(b) Legal relations in public and private matters arising out of the state of war, including the question of the treatment of trading vessels which have fallen into the hands of either Party, shall be settled on a basis of reciprocity.

⁵⁷ League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. XIX, 1923, No. 498, p. 250. Translation of the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

(c) Germany and Russia mutually agree to waive their claims for compensation for expenditure incurred by either Party on behalf of prisoners of war. Furthermore, the German Government agrees to forego compensation with regard to the expenditure incurred by it on behalf of members of the Red Army interned in Germany. The Russian Government agrees to forego the restitution of the proceeds of the sale carried out in Germany of the army stores brought into Germany by the interned members of the Red Army mentioned above.

Article 2. Germany waives all claims against Russia which may have arisen through the application, up to the present, of the laws and measures of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic to German nationals or their private rights and the rights of the German Reich and States, and also claims which may have arisen owing to any other measures taken by the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic or by their agents against German nationals or their private rights on condition that the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic does not satisfy claims for compensation of a similar nature made by a third Party.

Article 3. Diplomatic and consular relations between the German Reich and the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic shall be resumed immediately. The conditions for the admission of the Consuls of both Parties shall be determined by means of a special agreement.

Article 4. Both governments have furthermore agreed that the establishment of the legal status of those nationals of the one Party, which live within the territory of the other Party, and the general regulation of mutual, commercial and economic relations, shall be effected on the principle of the most favored nation. This principle shall, however, not apply to the privileges and facilities which the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic may grant to a Soviet Republic or to any State which in the past formed part of the former Russian Empire.

Article 5. The two governments shall cooperate in a spirit of mutual good will in meeting the economic needs of both countries. In the event of a fundamental settlement of the above question on an international basis, an exchange of opinions shall previously take place between the two governments. The German Government, having lately been informed of the proposed agreements of private firms, declares its readiness to give all possible support to these arrangements and to facilitate their being carried into effect.

Article 6. Articles 1 (b) and 4 of this Agreement shall come into force on the day of ratification, and the remaining provisions shall come into force immediately.

Original text done in duplicate at Rapallo on April 16, 1922.

RATHENAU
CHICHERIN

NO. 19. THE RECOGNITION OF THE U. S. S. R. BY GREAT BRITAIN,
FEBRUARY 1/FEBRUARY 8, 1924⁵⁸

February 1, 1924

British Note

I have the honor, by direction of my government to inform Your Excellency that they recognize the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics as the de jure rulers of those territories of the old Russian Empire which acknowledge their authority.

2. In order, however to create the normal conditions of complete friendly relations and full commercial intercourse, it will be necessary to conclude definite practical agreements on a variety of matters.

5. It is also manifest that genuinely friendly relations cannot be said to be completely established so long as either party has reason to suspect the other of carrying on propaganda against its interests and directed to the overthrow of its institutions.

7. In the meantime I have been given the status of Chargé d'Affaires pending the appointment of an Ambassador; and I am to state that His Majesty's Government will be glad similarly to receive a Russian Chargé d'Affaires representing the Government of the Union at the Court of St. James's.

*U. S. S. R. Reply*⁵⁹

February 8, 1924

I have the honor, on behalf of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to inform Your Excellency that my government has taken cognizance with satisfaction of the contents of the British note of February 1, 1924, in which the British Government recognizes de jure the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, whose authority extends throughout all the territories of the former Russian Empire,

⁵⁸ Reprinted from *The Times*, London, February 2, 1924. The note was dispatched on February 1, to Mr. Hodgson.

⁵⁹ Reprinted from *The Times* February 9, 1924. The note was addressed to Mr. MacDonald and signed by M. Rakovski. The texts of this exchange of notes are given in *Survey of International Affairs 1924*, by Arnold J. Toynbee, London, 1926, pp. 491-492.

with the exception of those which have been severed with the consent of the Soviet Government and in which independent States have been constituted.

2. Expressing the will of the Second Congress of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which proclaimed that friendly cooperation between the peoples of Great Britain and the Soviet Union remained one of the first cares of the Government of the Union, the latter declares its readiness to discuss and settle in a friendly spirit all questions arising directly or indirectly out of the fact of recognition.

.....
5. My government, in full accord with the views of the Government of Great Britain, considers that mutual confidence and noninterference in internal affairs remain indispensable conditions for the strengthening and development of friendly relations between the two countries.

6. My government has learned with pleasure of the appointment of Mr. Hodgson as British Chargé d'Affaires in Moscow. . . .

NO. 20. SOVIET OFFICIAL DECLARATION CONCERNING SEIZURE OF
MEMEL BY LITHUANIA (1922), MARCH 13, 1924

In connection with the seizure of Memel and its district by Lithuania (1922) after the problem was referred to the Council of the League in December, 1923, an American journalist inquired in a "responsible Soviet quarter" and received the following answer:⁶⁰

Of course we do not think the so-called League will change its Memel decision on account of our Notes.

But the Soviet Government is determined to lose no opportunity of exposing to the world two points: First, the utter futility of opportunist decisions by the "Allied League of Nations"; and second, our fixed resolve that no matter interesting to Russia shall be, or can be, settled without our participation and approval. Outsiders may think our repeated insistence on these points stupid and monotonous. Nothing is more stupid and monotonous than drops of water falling, falling—but they wear away solid rock, and neither the Allies nor the League of Nations are solid rock.

NO. 21. CHICHERIN'S DECLARATION ON THE LEAGUE'S ASSEMBLY
RESOLUTION CONCERNING REOCCUPATION OF GEORGIA
BY U. S. S. R., OCTOBER 4, 1924

In connection with the invasion and reoccupation of Georgia by R. S. F. S. R. an appeal was sent by Georgians to the League, claim-

⁶⁰ *The New York Times*, March 13, 1924, per K. Davis (*The Soviets at Geneva*, 1934, p. 87).

ing for an intervention⁶¹. The League's Assembly accepted a favorable resolution of a mild text. This resolution was renewed two years later after an unsuccessful uprising in Georgia. Chicherin gave to this the following answer in a press interview:

It is not the first time that the so-called League of Nations has tried to meddle in the Soviet Union's internal affairs, but each time it has met with a firm repulse from our side. The so-called League of Nations serves as a very handy screen for onslaught against the Soviet Government when conditions are such that the capitalist governments do not wish to come out in the open for fear of opposition in their own countries. Such assaults can scarcely promote the growth of the League's authority. . . . These paper attacks are extremely artificial and, in general, the puppet League of Nations is, in fact, notable chiefly for its feebleness in the field of real deeds.

The hopeless flash in the pan in Georgia, purely a stage set-up, was ordered by those who utilized it later on for purposes of propaganda. . . . It was ordered, prepared and supported by the various Western European governments. The absolutely intolerable resolution of the League of Nations, patently the grossest sort of interference in the Soviet Union's domestic affairs, has definitely revealed the cards of our opponents!

NO. 22. CONVENTION EMBODYING BASIC RULES OF THE RELATIONS
BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE U. S. S. R., JANUARY 20, 1925⁶²

Article 1. The high contracting parties agree that, with the coming into force of the present Convention, diplomatic and consular relations shall be established between them.

Article 2. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agrees that the Treaty of Portsmouth of September 5, 1905, shall remain in full force.

It is agreed that the Treaties, Conventions and Agreements, other than the said Treaty of Portsmouth, which were concluded between Japan and Russia prior to November 7, 1917, shall be reexamined at a conference to be subsequently held between the governments of the high contracting parties and are liable to revision or annulment as altered circumstances may require.

Article 3. The governments of the high contracting parties agree that, upon the coming into force of the present Convention, they shall proceed to the revision of the Fishery Convention of 1907

Article 4. The governments of the high contracting parties agree that, upon the coming into force of the present Convention, they shall proceed

⁶¹ See Russian Information and Review, October 4, 1924, per K. Davis, *supra*, p. 96.

⁶² League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 866, p. 32 ff.

to the conclusion of a treaty of commerce and navigation in conformity with the principles hereunder mentioned:

Article 5. The high contracting parties solemnly affirm their desire and intention to live in peace and amity with each other, scrupulously to respect the undoubted right of a State to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way, to refrain and restrain all persons in any governmental service for them, and all organizations in receipt of any financial assistance from them, from any act overt or covert liable in any way whatever to endanger the order and security in any part of the territories of Japan or the U. S. S. R.

It is further agreed that neither contracting party shall permit the presence in the territories under its jurisdiction:

(a) of organizations or groups pretending to be the government for any part of the territories of the other Party, or

(b) of alien subjects or citizens who may be found to be actually carrying on political activities for such organizations or groups.

Article 6. In the interest of promoting economic relations between the two countries, and taking into consideration the needs of Japan with regard to natural resources, the Government of the U. S. S. R. is willing to grant to Japanese subjects, companies and associations concessions for the exploitation of minerals, forests and other natural resources in all the territories of the U. S. S. R.

Article 7. The present Convention shall be ratified.

.....
K. YOSHIKAWA

L. KARACHAN

NO. 23. TREATY BETWEEN GERMANY AND THE U. S. S. R.,

APRIL 24, 1926⁶³

The German Government and the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, being desirous of doing all in their power to promote the maintenance of general peace,

And being convinced that the interests of the German people and of the peoples of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics demand constant and trustful cooperation,

Having agreed to strengthen the friendly relations existing between them by means of a Special Treaty and have for this purpose appointed

⁶³ League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. LIII, 1926, No. 1268, p. 392 (translation). On the same date an exchange of notes took place between Mr. Stresemann and Mr. Krestinski.

as their Plenipotentiaries . . . have agreed upon the following provisions:

Article 1. The relations between Germany and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics shall continue to be based on the Treaty of Rapallo.

The Germany Government and the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics shall remain in friendly touch in order to promote an understanding with regard to all political and economic questions jointly affecting their two countries.

Article 2. Should one of the Contracting Parties, despite its peaceful attitude, be attacked by one or more third powers, the other Contracting Party shall observe neutrality for the whole duration of the conflict.

Article 3. If on the occasion of a conflict of the nature mentioned in Article 2, or at a time when neither of the Contracting Parties is engaged in warlike operations, a coalition is formed between third powers with a view to the economic or financial boycott of either of the Contracting Parties, the other Contracting Party undertakes not to adhere to such coalition.

Article 4. The present Treaty shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be exchanged at Berlin.

It shall enter into force on the date of the exchange of the instruments of ratification and shall remain in force for five years. The two Contracting Parties shall confer in good time before the expiration of this period with regard to the future development of their political relations.

In faith whereof the Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

STRESEMANN

KRESTINSKI

NO. 24. PROTOCOL SIGNED BY ESTHONIA, LATVIA, POLAND, RUMANIA
AND U. S. S. R. REGARDING RENUNCIATION OF WAR,
FEBRUARY 9, 1929⁶⁴

For the immediate entry into force of the Treaty of Paris of August 27, 1928, regarding renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy.

NO. 25. TREATY OF NONAGGRESSION AND PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF
DISPUTES BETWEEN FINLAND AND U. S. S. R. SIGNED
AT HELSINKI, JANUARY 21, 1932⁶⁵

The Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of the one part and the President of the Republic of Finland of

⁶⁴ League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. II, p. 212.

⁶⁵ League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. CLVII, p. 393.

the other part, being convinced that the conclusion of the undertaking mentioned below . . . will contribute toward the development of friendly and neighborly relations between the two countries . . . have agreed upon the following provisions:

Article 1. The high contracting parties mutually guarantee the inviolability of the existing frontiers between the U. S. S. R. and the Republic of Finland, as fixed by the Treaty of Peace concluded at Dorpat on October 14, 1920, which shall remain the firm foundation of their relations and reciprocally undertake to refrain from any act of aggression directed against each other.

(2) Any act of violence attacking the integrity and the inviolability of the territory or the political independence of the other high contracting party shall be regarded as an act of aggression, even if it is committed without declaration of war and avoids warlike manifestation.

Article 5. The high contracting parties declare that they will always endeavor to settle in a spirit of justice any disputes of whatever nature or origin which may arise between them, and will resort exclusively to pacific means of settling such disputes. For this purpose, the high contracting parties undertake to submit any disputes which may arise between them after the signature of the present treaty and which it may not have been possible to settle through diplomatic proceedings within a reasonable time, to a proceeding of conciliation. . . .

NO. 26. TREATY OF NONAGGRESSION AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF
DISPUTES BETWEEN ESTHONIA AND THE U. S. S. R.
SIGNED AT MOSCOW, MAY 4, 1932⁶⁶

The President of the Esthonian Republic, of the one part, and the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Socialist Republics, of the other part,

Being convinced that it is in the interest of the two high contracting parties to lay down definite conditions contributing to strengthening the friendly relations existing between them;

Considering that the peace treaty of February 2, 1920, constitutes now as heretofore, the unshakable foundation of their mutual relations and obligations;

Being desirous of supplementing and defining so far as concerns their mutual relations, the pact of renunciation of war signed at Paris on August 27, 1928, have decided to conclude the present treaty.

⁶⁶ League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. CXXXI, p. 297.

Article 1. Each of the high contracting parties guarantees to the other party the inviolability of the existing frontiers between them as defined by the peace treaty signed on February 2, 1920, and undertakes to refrain from any act of aggression or any violent measures directed against the integrity and inviolability of the territory or against the political independence of the other contracting party, whether such acts of aggression or such violent measures are undertaken separately or in conjunction with other powers with or without declaration of war.

NO. 27. U. S. S. R. CONVENTION FOR THE DEFINITION OF
AGGRESSION, JULY 3, 1933⁶⁷

The Central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R., His Majesty the King of Afghanistan, the President of the Estonian Republic, the President of the Latvian Republic, His Majesty the Shah of Persia, the President of the Polish Republic, His Majesty the King of Rumania, and the President of the Turkish Republic,

Impelled by the desire to strengthen the peace existing between their countries,

Believing that the Briand-Kellogg Pact (Pact of Paris) to which they are signatories forbids all aggression,

Deeming it necessary in the interests of universal security to define as closely as possible the conception of aggression, in order to eliminate every pretext for its justification,

Declaring that every State has an equal right to independence, security, defense of its territory, and free development of its State system,

Inspired by the desire in the interests of universal peace to assure all nations of the inviolability of the territory of their countries,

Considering it useful in the interests of universal peace to put into force as between their countries precise rules for the definition of aggression, pending the universal recognition of these rules,

Have decided for this purpose to conclude the present convention and have duly accredited . . .

Who have agreed upon the following provisions:

Article 1. Each of the high contracting parties undertakes to recognize in its relations with each of the other parties, beginning with the day

⁶⁷ From Keith, *Speeches and Documents on International Affairs, 1918-1937*, Vol. I, pp. 280-282. League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. CXLVII, p. 69. Both texts are not identical as to the wording but remain unchanged as to content and meaning.

this convention enters into effect, the definition of aggressor outlined in the report of the Security Committee of May 24, 1933 (the Politis Report), at the Disarmament Conference, based upon the proposal of the Soviet delegation.

Article 2. In accordance with the above, the aggressor in an international conflict, with due consideration to the agreements existing between the parties involved in the conflict, will be considered the State which will be the first to commit any of the following acts:

1. Declaration of war against another State;
2. Invasion by armed forces, even without a declaration of war, of the territory of another State;
3. An attack by armed land, naval, or air forces, even without a declaration of war, upon the territory, naval vessels, or aircraft of another State;
4. Naval blockade of the coasts or ports of another State;
5. Aid to armed bands formed on the territory of a State and invading the territory of another State, or refusal, despite demands on the part of the State subjected to attack, to take all possible measures on its own territory to deprive the said bands of any aid and protection.

Article 3. No considerations of a political, military, economic, or any other nature can serve as an excuse or justification of aggression as specified in Article 2 (see below for explanation).

.....
Done in London, July 3, 1933.

NO. 28. RECOGNITION OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT OF RUSSIA—EXCERPTS
FROM THE RADIO ADDRESS BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOORE
DELIVERED ON NOVEMBER 22, 1933⁶⁸

... I would like to quote the comment on this and the other agreements by Father Walsh of the Georgetown University at Washington, who has heretofore been one of the foremost and strongest critics of the Soviet régime. This very learned and thoughtful commentator says:

Comprehensive and formal guarantees of an unprecedented character in several fields were made by the Soviet Government prior to recognition. This in itself is a significant abandonment of the previous Soviet policy, which uniformly demanded recognition first, with detailed discussion and mutual

⁶⁸ United States Department of State *Press Release*, November 25, 1933, pp. 285-293. Reproduced in the Department of State Eastern European Series, No. 2, Washington, 1934.

guarantees to follow. All that now remains to achieve normal diplomatic relations is the honest and unequivocal fulfilment of public pledges, publicly given.

. . . After consideration of noninterference with our political institutions, and the rights of our nationals, the further agreements between the President and Mr. Litvinov had reference to the settlement of claims and counter claims.

. . . Finally, there was a joint statement by the President and Mr. Litvinov saying:

In addition to the agreements which we have signed today, there has taken place an exchange of views with regard to methods of settling all outstanding questions of indebtedness and claims that permits us to hope for a speedy and satisfactory solution of these questions which both our governments desire to have out of the way as soon as possible.

. . . It is easy to understand that when two nations with such extensive territory and population belong to one great family of nations they have always a better prospect than would otherwise be the case of avoiding disputes by diplomatic processes and adjusting any differences that may arise. It is also easy to understand that when two such nations are linked together as friends, instead of being strangers to each other, that fact makes for a more peaceful international atmosphere. It is a new breath of hope in a world sick of war.

The White House

Washington, November 16, 1933⁶⁹

My dear Mr. Litvinov,

I am very happy to inform you that as a result of our conversations the Government of the United States has decided to establish normal diplomatic relations with the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to exchange Ambassadors.

I trust that the relations now established between our peoples may forever remain normal and friendly, and that our nations henceforth may cooperate for their mutual benefit and for the preservation of the peace of the world.

I am, my dear Mr. Litvinov,

Very sincerely yours

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Mr. Maxim M. Litvinov

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs

Minister of Soviet Socialist Republics

⁶⁹ Text of the communication accompanying the recognition of the U. S. S. R., *New York Times*, November 18, 1933.

Litvinov's Acceptance

Washington, November 16, 1933

I am very happy to inform you that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is glad to establish normal diplomatic relations with the Government of the United States and to exchange Ambassadors.

I, too, share the hope that the relations now established between our peoples may forever remain normal and friendly, and that our nations henceforth may cooperate for their mutual benefit and for the preservation of the peace of the world.

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours

MAXIM LITVINOV

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt
President of the United States of America
The White House

NO. 29. THE FRENCH-SOVIET MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AGREEMENT,
MAY 2, 1935⁷⁰

The President of the French Republic and the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, animated by the desire to consolidate peace in Europe and to guarantee its benefits to their respective countries by insuring more completely the strict application of the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which aim at the maintenance of the national security, territorial integrity, and political independence of States; . . .

Have decided to conclude a treaty with these objects and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries; . . .

Who . . . have agreed upon the following provisions:

Article 1. In the event of France or the U. S. R. R. being threatened with or in danger of, attack on the part of a European State, the U. S.

⁷⁰ From A. B. Keith, *Speeches and Documents on International Affairs, 1918-1937*, Vol. II, pp. 29-33. League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. CLXVII, p. 404. Both texts are not identical as to the wording but remain unchanged as to content and meaning.

S. R., and, reciprocally, France, undertake to proceed mutually to immediate consultation as regards the measures to be taken for the observance or the provisions of Article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 2. In the event of France or the U. S. S. R., in the circumstances specified in Article 15, paragraph 7, of the League of Nations Covenant, being the object, in spite of the genuinely peaceful intentions of both countries, of an unprovoked attack on the part of a European State, the U. S. S. R., and, reciprocally, France, shall immediately give each other aid and assistance.

Article 3. In consideration of the fact that under Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations any member of the League who has recourse to war contrary to the obligations undertaken in Articles 12, 13, and 15 of the Covenant is ipso facto considered as having committed an act of war against all the other members of the League, France and reciprocally, the U. S. S. R. undertake in the event of one of them being the object, in these circumstances and in spite of the genuinely peaceful intentions of both countries, of an unprovoked attack on the part of a European State, to give each other immediately aid and assistance in execution of Article 16 of the Covenant.

The same obligation is assumed in the event of France or the U. S. S. R. being the object of an attack on the part of a European State in the circumstances specified in Article 17, paragraphs 1 and 3 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 4. The obligations laid down above being in conformity with the obligations of the high contracting parties as members of the League of Nations, nothing in the present Treaty shall be interpreted as restricting the mission of the League to take appropriate measures to safeguard effectively the peace of the world or as restricting the obligations laid upon the high contracting parties by the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 5. The present Treaty, of which both the French and Russian texts are equally valid, shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification exchanged at Moscow as soon as possible. It shall be registered with the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

It shall come into force as soon as the ratifications have been exchanged, and shall remain in force for five years. If it has not been denounced by either of the high contracting parties giving notice of denunciation at least one year before the expiration of this period, it shall remain in force for an unlimited period, each of the high contracting parties being at liberty to terminate it at a year's notice by a declaration to that effect.

In witness whereof the Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and have affixed their seals thereto.

Done at Paris, in duplicate, this second day of May, 1935.

Protocol of Signature

At the moment of proceeding to the signature of the Franco-Soviet Mutual Assistance Agreement of today's date, the plenipotentiaries have signed the following protocol, which shall be included in the exchange of ratifications of the Treaty:

.....
 III. The two governments, recognizing the desirability of concluding a regional agreement aiming at the organization of security as between the contracting States and which, furthermore, might contain or be accompanied by provisions for mutual assistance, leave each other free to become parties, by mutual consent and should the occasion arise, to agreements of this nature, in such form, direct or indirect, as may seem appropriate, the obligations undertaken in these various agreements being intended to take the place of those assumed in the present Treaty.

IV. The two governments declare that the negotiations which have just resulted in the signature of the present Treaty were originally started with a view to drawing up a security agreement covering all the countries of Northeastern Europe, namely, the U. S. S. R., Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Baltic States neighbors of the U. S. S. R.; besides this agreement a treaty of assistance between the U. S. S. R., France, and Germany was to have been concluded, under which each of these three States would be pledged to come to the assistance of that one among them which had been the object of an attack by one of these three States. Although circumstances have not hitherto permitted the conclusion of these agreements, which the two parties continue to regard as desirable, it is nevertheless the case that the obligations laid down in the Franco-Soviet Assistance Agreement should be understood as coming into play only within the limits contemplated in the tripartite agreement previously projected. Apart from the obligations resulting from the present Treaty, attention must at the same time be called to the fact that, in accordance with the Franco-Soviet Pact of Nonaggression signed on the twenty-ninth of November, 1932, and without prejudice to the universal character of the obligations laid down in this pact, in the event of either of the two parties being the object of an attack on the part of one or several other European powers not referred to in the above-mentioned tripartite agreement, the other contracting party must abstain, during the period of the conflict, from giving any aid or assistance, direct or indirect, to the

aggressor or aggressors; each party, moreover, declaring itself to be bound by no assistance agreement which would be inconsistent with this obligation.

Done at Paris, this second day of May, 1935.

PIERRE LAVAL

VLADIMIR POTEMKIN

NO. 30. TREATY OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN THE CZECHOSLOVAK
REPUBLIC AND THE U. S. S. R., MAY 15, 1935⁷¹

Article 1. In the event of the Czechoslovak Republic or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics being threatened with or in danger of aggression on the part of any European State, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and reciprocally the Czechoslovak Republic undertake mutually to proceed to an immediate consultation as regards the measures to be taken for the observance of the provisions of Article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 2. Should, in the circumstances specified in Article 15, paragraph 7, of the Covenant of the League of Nations the Czechoslovak Republic or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics be the object, notwithstanding the sincerely peaceful intentions of both countries, of an unprovoked aggression on the part of a European State, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and reciprocally the Czechoslovak Republic shall immediately come to each other's aid and assistance.

Article 3. In consideration of the fact that under Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations any member of the League which resorts to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15 of the Covenant is ipso facto deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, the Czechoslovak Republic and reciprocally the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics undertake, in the event of one of them being the object, in these conditions and notwithstanding the sincerely peaceful intentions of both countries, of an unprovoked aggression on the part of a European State, immediately to come to each other's aid and assistance in application of Article 16 of the Covenant.

The same obligation is assumed in the event of the Czechoslovak Republic or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics being the object of an aggression on the part of a European State in the circumstances specified in Article 17, paragraphs 1 and 3, of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

⁷¹ League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. CLIX, No. 3677, p. 357.

Article 4. Without prejudice to the preceding provisions of the present Treaty, it is stipulated that should either of the high contracting parties become the object of an aggression on the part of one or more third powers in conditions not giving ground for aid or assistance within the meaning of the present Treaty, the other high contracting party undertakes not to lend, for the duration of the conflict, aid or assistance, either directly or indirectly, to the aggressor or aggressors. Each high contracting party further declares that it is not bound by any other agreement for assistance which is incompatible with the present undertaking.

Article 5. The undertakings stipulated above being consonant with the obligations of the high contracting parties as members of the League of Nations, nothing in the present Treaty shall be interpreted as restricting the duty of the latter to take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world or as restricting the obligations resulting for the high contracting parties from the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 6. The present Treaty, both the Czechoslovak and the Russian texts whereof shall be equally authentic, shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be exchanged at Moscow as soon as possible.

.....
If it is not denounced by either of the high contracting parties giving notice thereof at least one year before the expiration of that period, it shall remain in force indefinitely, each of the high contracting parties being at liberty to terminate it at a year's notice by a declaration to that effect:

Done at Prague, in duplicate, this sixteenth day of May, 1935

(Signed) DR. EDOUARD BENEŠ

(Signed) S. ALEXANDROVSKY

NO. 31. GERMAN-JAPANESE AGREEMENT AGAINST THE COMMUNIST
INTERNATIONAL, NOVEMBER 25, 1936⁷²

The Government of the German Reich and the Imperial Japanese Government, recognizing that the aim of the Communist International, known as the Comintern, is to disintegrate and subdue existing States by all the means at its command; convinced that the toleration of interference by the Communist International in the internal affairs of the nations

⁷² Germany, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, Vol. II, 1937, No. 4. English translation. Documents on International Affairs—1936. Oxford University Press, p. 297 ff. Italy adhered to the document on November 6, 1937, and Hungary on February 24, 1939. Known in the press as the Anti-Comintern Pact.

not only endangers their internal peace and social well-being, but is also a menace to the peace of the world; desirous of cooperating in the defense against Communist subversive activities; have agreed as follows:

Article 1. The high contracting States agree to inform one another of the activities of the Communist International, to consult with one another on the necessary preventive measures, and to carry these through in close collaboration.

Article 2. The high contracting parties will jointly invite third States whose internal peace is threatened by the subversive activities of the Communist International to adopt defensive measures in the spirit of this agreement or to take part in the present agreement.

.....
Done in duplicate at Berlin on November 25, 1936—that is, November 25 of the eleventh year of Showa Period.

(Signed) VON RIBBENTROP, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the German Reich

(Signed) MUSKAKOJI, Imperial Japanese Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador

NO. 32. TREATY OF NONAGGRESSION BETWEEN GERMANY AND
SOVIET RUSSIA, MOSCOW, AUGUST 23, 1939⁷³

Article 1. The two contracting parties undertake to refrain from any act of violence, any aggressive action or any attack against one another whether individually or jointly with other powers.

Article 2. In case one of the contracting parties should become the object of warlike acts on the part of a third power the other contracting party will not support that third power in any form.

Article 4. Neither of the two contracting parties will participate in any grouping of powers which is indirectly or directly aimed against the other party.

NO. 33. THE SOVIET-ESTHONIAN MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AND TRADE
AGREEMENT, SIGNED AT MOSCOW, SEPTEMBER 28, 1939⁷⁴

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. on one side and the President of the Esthonian Republic on the other . . .

⁷³ The above pact entered into force, by virtue of Article 7, upon its signature and was concluded, according to Article 6, for ten years. The exchange of ratifications took place at Berlin on September 24, 1939. See Deák and Jessup, *Neutrality Laws, Regulations and Treaties*, Part II, Supplement, p. 1519 (17).

⁷⁴ Compared with the text in Deák and Jessup, pp. 1519 (17)—1519 (18).

For the purpose of developing friendly relations established by the Peace Treaty of February 2, 1920, and based on the recognition of the State independence and nonintervention into the internal affairs of the other party;

Recognizing that the Peace Treaty of February 2, 1920, and the pact of Nonaggression and the Peaceful Settlement of Conflicts of May 4, 1932, still form the firm basis of their relations and understanding;

Convinced that the definition of the exact conditions of insuring mutual security corresponds to the interests of both contracting parties;

Found it necessary to conclude the following Pact:

Article 1. Both contracting parties shall be obliged to render each other any mutual aid, also including military assistance, in the case either of a direct aggression or a threat of aggression on the part of some great European power against Baltic maritime borders of the contracting parties or against their land borders via Latvian territory, likewise against bases referred to in Article 3.

Article 3. The Republic of Esthonia shall secure the U. S. S. R. the right to possess on the Esthonian isles . . . bases for the Navy and a certain number of landing fields for air forces on a leasehold basis at an acceptable price. The exact location of bases and landing fields shall be marked out and the boundaries thereof shall be fixed by mutual agreement

Article 4. Both contracting parties shall obligate themselves not to conclude any alliances nor to take part in any coalitions directed against either of the contracting parties.

Article 5. The entering into force of this pact shall in no way infringe upon the sovereign rights of the contracting parties, particularly their economic system and political structure.

The sectors which are designated as bases and air fields (Article 3) shall remain the territory of the Republic of Esthonia.

NO. 34. MUTUAL AID PACT BETWEEN SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE
LATVIAN REPUBLIC SIGNED IN MOSCOW ON
OCTOBER 5, 1939⁷⁵

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. on one side and the President of the Latvian Republic on the other . . .

For the purpose of developing friendly relations established by the Peace Treaty of August 11, 1920, and based on recognition of independent

⁷⁵ Translation from Russian compared with Deák and Jessup, *ibid.* 1519 (18). The treaty was concluded for ten years.

State existence and nonintervention in the internal affairs of the other parties;

Recognizing that the Peace Treaty of August 11, 1920, and the Pact of Nonaggression and the Peaceful Settlement of Conflicts of February 5, 1932, still form the basis of their relations and understanding;

Convinced that the definition of the exact conditions of insuring mutual security corresponds to the interests of both contracting parties;

Found it is necessary to conclude the following pact:

Article 1. Both contracting parties undertake to render each other every assistance, including military, in the event of direct aggression or menace of aggression, on the part of any European great power, with respect to the sea borders of the contracting parties on the Baltic Sea, or their land borders through the territory of the Estonian or Latvian Republics or also the bases referred to in Article 3.

Article 3. In order to insure the security of the U. S. S. R. and to consolidate her own independence, the Latvian Republic grants to U. S. S. R. the right to maintain in . . . naval bases and several air fields . . . The locations of the bases and air fields shall be exactly specified and their boundaries determined by mutual agreements.

Article 5. The carrying into effect of the present pact must in no way affect the sovereign rights of the contracting parties, in particular, their political structure, their economic and social system, and their military measures.

The areas set aside for the bases and air fields (Article 3) remain the territory of the Latvian Republic.

NO. 35. A TREATY ON THE TRANSFER OF THE CITY OF VILNA AND
THE VILNA REGION BETWEEN THE LITHUANIAN REPUBLIC
AND OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN THE U. S.

S. R. AND LITHUANIA, SIGNED AT MOSCOW

OCTOBER 10, 1939⁷⁶

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. on the one side and the President of the Lithuanian Republic on the other side . . .

For the purpose of developing friendly relations established by the Peace Treaty of July 12, 1920, and based on recognition of State independence and nonintervention in the internal affairs of the other parties;

Recognizing that the Peace Treaty of July 12, 1920, and the Pact of Nonaggression and the Peaceful Settlement of Conflicts of September

⁷⁶ Translated from Russian and compared with Deák and Jessup, *ibid.*, p. 1519 (19).

28, 1926, still form the firm basis of their mutual relations and understanding;

Convinced that a definition of the exact conditions of insuring mutual security and just settlement of the questions of State appurtenance of the City of Vilna and the Vilna Region unlawfully wrested from Lithuania by Poland meets the interest of both parties;

Found it is necessary to conclude the following treaty: . . .

Article 1. For the purpose of consolidating friendly relations between the U. S. S. R. and Lithuania, the City of Vilna and the Vilna Province are transferred by the Soviet Union to the Lithuanian Republic and included in the territory of the Lithuanian State, the boundary between the U. S. S. R. and the Lithuanian Republic being established in accordance with the map appended hereto

Article 2. The Soviet Union and the Lithuanian Republic undertake to render each other every assistance, including military, in the event of aggression or menace of aggression against Lithuania as well as in the event of aggression or the menace of aggression against the Soviet Union through Lithuanian territory on the part of any European power.

Article 4. The Soviet Union and the Lithuanian Republic undertake jointly to effect protection of the State boundaries of Lithuania for which purpose the Soviet Union receives the rights to maintain, at its own expense, at points in the Lithuanian Republic, established by mutual agreement, Soviet land and air forces of strictly limited strength

Article 5. In the event of aggression against Lithuania or against the U. S. S. R. through the territory of Lithuania the contracting parties shall immediately discuss the resulting situation and take all measures found necessary by mutual agreement to secure the inviolability of the territory of the contracting parties.

Article 7. The carrying out of this pact shall not affect in any extent the sovereign rights of the contracting parties in particular their economic system and State organization, and guarantees the principle of nonintervention in the internal affairs.

Article 8. The term of validity of this pact is fifteen years.

NO. 36. THE PEACE TREATY BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND
FINLAND SIGNED AT MOSCOW, MARCH 11, 1940⁷⁷

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. on the one side and the President of the Republic of Finland on the other side, guided

⁷⁷ See *Soviet Russia Today*, April, 1940, p. 28.

by the desire to put an end to the hostilities between the two countries, and create stable mutual peaceful relations, convinced that a definition of exact conditions and insuring mutual security including security of the City of Leningrad and Murmansk as well as of the Murmansk Railroad correspond to the interest of both contracting parties, found it necessary to conclude a peace treaty for these purposes:

Article 2. The State frontiers between the U. S. S. R. and the Republic of Finland shall be established along a new line

Article 3. Both contracting parties mutually undertake to refrain from any attack upon each other, not to conclude any alliance and not to participate in any coalition directed against one of the contracting parties.

Article 4. The Republic of Finland consents to lease to the Soviet Union for thirty years Hangoe Peninsula . . . for the purpose of creating there a naval base capable of defending the entrance of the Gulf of Finland against aggression The Soviet Union is granted the right to maintain there . . . land and air forces.

Article 5. The U. S. S. R. undertakes to withdraw its troops from the Petsamo region voluntarily ceded to Finland by the Soviet State in accordance with the peace treaty of 1920.

Article 6. As provided by the treaty of 1920, the Soviet Union is granted the right to free transit across the Petsamo region to Norway and back.

NO. 37. NEUTRALITY PACT BETWEEN U. S. S. R. AND JAPAN,
APRIL 13, 1941⁷⁸

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. and His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, guided by a desire to strengthen peaceful and friendly relations between the two countries, decided to conclude a pact of neutrality, for the purpose of which they appointed their representatives.

Article 1. Both contracting parties undertake to maintain peaceful and friendly relations between them and mutually respect the territorial integrity and inviolability of the other contracting party.

Article 2. Should one of the contracting parties become the object of hostilities on the part of one or several third powers, the other contracting party will observe neutrality throughout the duration of the conflict.

⁷⁸ The English text of the pact and accompanying declaration is that of Tass, official Soviet news agency, furnished by the Associated Press and appearing in the *Washington Star* of April 14, 1941.

Article 3. The present pact comes into force from the day of its ratification by both contracting parties and remains valid for five years. In case neither of the contracting parties denounces the pact one year before expiration of the term, it will be considered automatically prolonged for the next five years.

Article 4. The present pact is subject to ratification as soon as possible.

.....
 Done in Moscow, April 13, 1941, which corresponds to the thirteenth day of the fourth month of the sixteenth year of Showa.⁷⁹

Signed by: MOLOTOV

YOSUKE MATSUOKA

YOSHITSUGU TATEKAWA

NO. 38, AGREEMENT BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE
 UNITED KINGDOM AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF
 SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS PROVIDING FOR JOINT
 ACTION IN THE WAR AGAINST GERMANY,
 MOSCOW, JULY 12, 1941⁸⁰

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have concluded the present Agreement and declare as follows:

(1) The two governments mutually undertake to render each other assistance and support of all kinds in the present war against Hitlerite Germany.

(2) They further undertake that during this war they will neither negotiate nor conclude an armistice or treaty of peace except by mutual agreement.

The present Agreement has been concluded in duplicate in the English and Russian languages.

Both texts have equal force.

Moscow, the twelfth of July, 1941.

NO. 39. AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE U. S. S. R. AND THE POLISH
 GOVERNMENT, JULY 30, 1941⁸¹

1. The Government of the U. S. S. R. recognizes the Soviet-German treaties of 1939 as to territorial changes in Poland as having lost their

⁷⁹ The reign of Emperor Hirohito.

⁸⁰ Treaty Series No. 15 (1941) (British), London, Printed and Published by H. M. Stationery Office, Cmd. 6304.

⁸¹ *New York Times*, July 31, 1941, compared with the Russian original in *Pravda* (Moscow), July 31, 1941.

validity. The Polish Government declares Poland is not bound by any agreement with any third power which is directed against the U. S. S. R.

2. Diplomatic relations will be restored between the two governments upon the signing of this agreement, and an immediate exchange of Ambassadors will be arranged.

4. The Government of the U. S. S. R. expresses its consent to the formation on territory of the U. S. S. R. of a Polish Army under a commander appointed by the Polish Government in agreement with the Soviet Government. . . .

5. . . . The Soviet Government grants amnesty to all Polish citizens now detained on Soviet territory either as prisoners of war or on other sufficient grounds, as from the resumption of diplomatic relations.

NO. 40. POLISH-RUSSIAN DECLARATION OF FRIENDSHIP AND
MUTUAL AID, DECEMBER 5, 1941⁸²

1. German Hitlerite imperialism is the worst enemy of mankind and no compromise is possible with it. Both governments, together with Great Britain and other States and with the support of the United States, will conduct the war until complete victory and the final defeat of the German bandits.

2. In accordance with the agreement signed on July 30, 1941, both governments, as long as the war lasts, will give each other full military assistance. Also the forces of the Polish Republic stationed in territory of the Soviet Union will conduct war against the German robbers hand-in-hand with the Soviet forces. In peace-time their mutual relations will be based on friendship, cooperation and the carrying out of obligations undertaken.

3. Once the war has been brought to a victorious conclusion and the Hitler criminals duly punished, the task of the Allied Governments will be to establish a just peace. This can only be achieved by new organization of international relations based on the association of democratic States in union. Such an organization to be a decisive factor must have respect for international law and be supported by the armed forces of all the Allied Governments. Only under such conditions can Europe be re-established and the defeat of the German barbarians achieved; only thus can it be guaranteed that the catastrophe caused by Hitlerites shall never repeat itself.

⁸² *New York Times*, December 6, 1941, page 7. This declaration was signed in Moscow by Joseph Stalin and Vladislav Sikorski, Premier of the Polish Government-in-Exile.

NO. 41. TREATY OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM
AND THE SOVIET UNION AND IRAN, SIGNED AT
TEHERAN, JANUARY 29, 1942⁸³

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the one hand, and His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran on the other;

Having in view the principles of the Atlantic Charter jointly agreed upon and announced to the world by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom on the fourteenth August, 1941, and endorsed by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the twenty-fourth September, 1941; with which His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah declares his complete agreement and from which he wishes to benefit on an equal basis with other nations of the world; and

Being anxious to strengthen the bonds of friendship and mutual understanding between them; and

Considering that these objects will best be achieved by the conclusion of a treaty of alliance;

Have agreed to conclude a treaty for this purpose and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

Article 1. His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (hereinafter referred to as the Allied Powers) jointly and severally undertake to respect the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and political independence of Iran.

Article 2. An alliance is established between the Allied Powers on the one hand and His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran on the other.

Article 3. (i) The Allied Powers jointly and severally undertake to defend Iran by all means at their command from all aggression on the part of Germany or any other power.

(ii) His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah undertakes—

(a) to cooperate with the Allied Powers with all the means at this command

(b) to secure to the Allied Powers, for the passage of troops or supplies from one Allied Power to the other or for other similar purposes, the unrestricted-right to use, maintain, guard, and, in case of military

⁸³ Department of State *Bulletin*, March 21, 1924, Vol. VI, No. 143, p. 249.

necessity, control in any way that they may require all means of communication throughout Iran

(c) to furnish all possible assistance and facilities in obtaining material and recruiting labor

(d) to establish and maintain, in collaboration with the Allied Powers, such measures of censorship control as they may require for all the means of communication referred to in paragraph (b).

(iii) It is clearly understood that in the application of paragraph (ii) (b) (c) and (d) of the present article the Allied Powers will give full consideration to the essential needs of Iran.

Article 4. (i) The Allied Powers may maintain in Iranian territory, land, sea and air forces in such number as they consider necessary. . . .

Article 6. (i) The Allied Powers undertake in their relations with foreign countries not to adopt an attitude which is prejudicial to the territorial integrity, sovereignty, or political independence of Iran, nor to conclude treaties inconsistent with the provisions of the present treaty. They undertake to consult the Government of His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah in all matters affecting the direct interests of Iran.

(ii) His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah undertakes not to adopt in his relations with foreign countries an attitude which is inconsistent with the provisions of the present treaty.

Article 7. The Allied Powers jointly undertake to use their best endeavors to safeguard the economic existence of the Iranian people against the privations and difficulties arising as a result of the present war. . . .

[L. S.] R. W. BALLARD

[L. S.] A. A. SMIRNOV

[L. S.] ALI SOHEILY

NO. 42. THE TREATY OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN GREAT
BRITAIN AND THE SOVIET UNION, SIGNED ON
MAY 26, 1942⁸⁴

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and British Dominions Beyond Seas, Emperor of India, and the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

Desiring to confirm the stipulations of the agreement between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of

⁸⁴ *New York Times*, June 12, 1942; Russian Embassy Information Bulletin (Washington), June 13, 1942, No. 71. Great Britain ratified June 24. *New York Times*, June 25, 1942.

the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for joint action in the war against Germany signed at Moscow, July 12, 1941, and to replace them by formal treaty;

Desiring to contribute after the war to the maintenance of peace and to the prevention of further aggression by Germany or the States associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe;

Desiring, moreover, to give expression to their intention to collaborate closely with one another as well as with the other United Nations at the peace settlement and during the ensuing period of reconstruction on a basis of the principles enunciated in the declaration made August 14, 1941, by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, to which the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has adhered;

Desiring finally to provide for mutual assistance in the event of attack upon either high contracting party by Germany or any of the States associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe;

Have decided to conclude a treaty for that purpose and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

Who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

Part One

Article 1. In virtue of the alliance established between the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the high contracting parties mutually undertake to afford one another military and other assistance and support of all kinds in war against Germany and all those States which are associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe.

Article 2. The high contracting parties undertake not to enter into any negotiations with the Hitlerite Government or any other government in Germany that does not clearly renounce all aggression intentions, and not to negotiate or conclude, except by mutual consent, any armistice or peace treaty with Germany or any other State associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe.

Part Two

Article 3. 1. The high contracting parties declare their desire to unite with other like-minded States in adopting proposals for common action to preserve peace and resist aggression in the postwar period.

2. Pending adoption of such proposals, they will after termination of

hostilities take all measures in their power to render impossible the repetition of aggression and violation of peace by Germany or any of the States associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe.

Article 4. Should either of the high contracting parties during the post-war period become involved in hostilities with Germany or any of the States mentioned in Article 3, Section 2, in consequences of the attack by that State against that party, the other high contracting party will at once give to the contracting party so involved in hostilities all military and other support and assistance in his power.

This article shall remain in force until the high contracting parties, by mutual agreement, shall recognize that it is superseded by adoption of proposals contemplated in Article 3, Section 1. In default of adoption of such proposals, it shall remain in force for a period of twenty years and thereafter until terminated by either high contracting party as provided in Article 8.

Article 5. The high contracting parties, having regard to the interests of security of each of them, agree to work together in close and friendly collaboration after reestablishment of peace for the organization of security and economic prosperity in Europe.

They will take into account the interests of the United Nations in these objects and they will act in accordance with the two principles of not seeking territorial aggrandizement for themselves and of noninterference in the internal affairs of other States.

Article 6. The high contracting parties agree to render one another all possible economic assistance after the war.

Article 7. Each high contracting party undertakes not to conclude any alliance and not to take part in any coalition directed against the other high contracting party.

Article 8. The present treaty is subject to ratification in the shortest possible time and instruments of ratification shall be exchanged in Moscow as soon as possible.

It comes into force immediately on the exchange of instruments of ratification and shall thereupon replace the agreement between the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom signed at Moscow July 12, 1941.

Part One of the present treaty shall remain in force until the reestablishment of peace between the high contracting parties and Germany and the powers associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe.

Part Two of the present treaty shall remain in force for a period of

twenty years. Thereafter, unless twelve months' notice has been given by either party to terminate the treaty at the end of the said period of twenty years, it shall continue in force until twelve months after either high contracting party shall have given notice to the other in writing of his intention to terminate it.

In witness whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done in duplicate in London on the twenty-sixth day of May, 1942, in the Russian and English languages, both texts being equally authentic.

NO. 43. AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND
THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ON THE
PRINCIPLES APPLYING TO MUTUAL AID IN THE
PROSECUTION OF THE WAR AGAINST AG-
GRESSION, JUNE 11, 1942⁸⁵

Whereas the Governments of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics declare that they are engaged in a cooperative undertaking, together with every other nation or people of like mind, to the end of laying the bases of a just and enduring world peace securing order under law to themselves and all nations;

And whereas the Governments of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as signatories of the Declaration by United Nations of January 1, 1942, have subscribed to a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the Joint Declaration, known as the Atlantic Charter, made on August 14, 1941, by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the basic principles of which were adhered to by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on September 24, 1941;

And whereas the President of the United States of America has determined, pursuant to the Act of Congress of March 11, 1941, that the defense of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics against aggression is vital to the defense of the United States of America;

And whereas the United States of America has extended and is continuing to extend to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics aid in resisting aggression;

⁸⁵ Department of State *Bulletin*, Vol. VI, No. 155, June 13, 1942. Department of State *Press Release*, No. 285, June 11, 1942.

The undersigned, being duly authorized by their respective governments for that purpose, have agreed as follows:

Article 1. The Government of the United States of America will continue to supply the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with such defense articles, defense services, and defense information as the President of the United States of America shall authorize to be transferred or provided.

Article 2. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will continue to contribute to the defense of the United States of America and the strengthening thereof and will provide such articles, services, facilities or information as it may be in a position to supply.

Article 3. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will not without the consent of the President of the United States of America transfer title to, or possession of, any defense article or defense information transferred to it under the Act of March 11, 1941, of the Congress of the United States of America or permit the use thereof by anyone not an officer, employee, or agent of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Article 4. If, as a result of the transfer to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of any defense article or defense information, it becomes necessary for that Government to take any action or make any payment in order fully to protect any of the rights of a citizen of the United States of America who has patent rights in and to any such defense article or information, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will take such action or make such payment when requested to do so by the President of the United States of America.

Article 5. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will return to the United States of America at the end of the present emergency, as determined by the President of the United States of America, such defense articles transferred under this Agreement as shall not have been destroyed, lost or consumed and as shall be determined by the President to be useful in the defense of the United States of America or of the Western Hemisphere or to be otherwise of use to the United States of America.

Article 6. In the final determination of the benefits to be provided to the United States of America by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics full cognizance shall be taken of all property, services, information, facilities, or other benefits or considerations provided by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics subsequent

to March 11, 1941, and accepted or acknowledged by the President on behalf of the United States of America.

Article 7. In the final determination of the benefits to be provided to the United States of America by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in return for aid furnished under the Act of Congress of March 11, 1941, the terms and conditions thereof shall be such as not to burden commerce between the two countries, but to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between them and the betterment of worldwide economic relations. To that end, they shall include provision for agreed action by the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, open to participation by all other countries of like mind, directed to the expansion, by appropriate international and domestic measures, of production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods, which are the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples; to the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce, and to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers; and, in general, to the attainment of all the economic objections set forth in the Joint Declaration made on August 14, 1941, by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the basic principles of which were adhered to by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on September 24, 1941.

At an early convenient date, conversations shall be begun between the two governments with a view to determining, in the light of governing economic conditions, the best means of attaining the above-stated objectives by their own agreed action and of seeking the agreed action of other like-minded governments.

Article 8. This agreement shall take effect as from this day's date. It shall continue in force until a date to be agreed upon by the two governments.

Signed and sealed at Washington in duplicate this eleventh day of June, 1942.

For the Government of the United States of America

CORDELL HULL, Secretary of State
of the United States of America

For the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

MAXIM LITVINOV, Ambassador of the Union
of Soviet Socialist Republic at Washington

NO. 44. A JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ OF THE FIGHTING FRENCH NATIONAL
COMMITTEE AND THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, ISSUED IN
LONDON ON SEPTEMBER 28, 1942⁸⁶

The French National Committee has informed the Soviet Government of its desire to call, henceforth, "Fighting France," the movement of Frenchmen, wherever they may be, who do not accept the capitulation to Hitlerian Germany and who fight against her for the liberation of France.

The Soviet Government has met the desire of the French National Committee which expresses the will of French patriots to contribute by all the means at their disposal to the common victory against Hitlerian Germany and her accomplices in Europe. The Soviet Government has agreed with the French National Committee on the following definition of Fighting France:

1. Fighting France is the whole of the citizens and territories of France who do not accept the capitulation and who by all the means at their disposal contribute, wherever they may be, to the liberation of France through the common victory of the Allies against Hitlerian Germany and all her accomplices, in Europe.

2. The French National Committee is the directing instrument of Fighting France, the only one qualified to organize the participation in the war of French citizens and territories and to represent in respect to the Government of the U. S. S. R., French interests, especially as they are affected by the pursuit of the war.

C. Documents with Reference to the Occupation and Incorporation
of Border States and Territories

NO. 1. THE NOTE OF THE U. S. S. R. DELIVERED TO POLISH AM-
BASSADOR IN MOSCOW CONCERNING THE MOVEMENT OF
THE SOVIET TROOPS INTO POLISH TERRITORY,
SEPTEMBER 17, 1939⁸⁷

Mr. Ambassador,

The Polish-German War has revealed the internal insolvency of the Polish State. In the course of ten days of military occupation Poland has lost all her industrial districts and cultural centers. Warsaw as the capital of Poland, no longer exists. The Polish Government has disintegrated

⁸⁶ See *Free France*, Vol. 2, No. 7, October 1, 1942, p. 169.

⁸⁷ *Soviet Russia Today*, October, 1939.

and shows no sign of life. This means that the Polish State and its government have virtually ceased to exist. Thereby the treaties concluded between the U. S. S. R. and Poland have ceased to operate. Left to herself and without leadership Poland has become convenient ground for any contingency and unexpected happenings which may create a menace to the U. S. S. R. Hence, having remained neutral until now, the Soviet Government can no longer maintain a neutral attitude to these facts. Nor can the Soviet Government remain indifferent to the fact that the kindred Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians living on the territory of Poland, abandoned to their fate, have been left defenseless.

In view of this situation the Soviet Government has instructed the high command of the Red Army to order troops to cross the frontier and to take under their protection the lives and property of the population of Western Ukraine and Western Byelo-Russia.

At the same time the Soviet Government intends to take all measures to deliver the Polish people from the disastrous war into which they have been plunged by their unwise leaders and to give them the opportunity to live a life of peace.

Accept, Mr. Ambassador, assurances of my highest consideration

V. MOLOTOV

People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs
of the U. S. S. R.

NO 2. SPEECH OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS
OF THE U. S. S. R., V. MOLOTOV (BROADCAST OVER THE
RADIO), OF SEPTEMBER 17, 1939⁸⁸

The events arising out of the Polish-German war have revealed the internal insolvency and obvious incompetence of the Polish State. The Polish ruling circles have become bankrupt

A mere fortnight has passed and Poland has already lost all her industrial centers

Warsaw as the capital of the Polish State no longer exists. No one knows the whereabouts of the Polish Government. The population of Poland has been abandoned by its ill-starred leaders to its fate. The Polish State and its government have virtually ceased to exist. In view of this state of affairs, the treaties concluded between the Soviet Union and Poland have ceased to operate.

A situation has arisen in Poland which demands of the Soviet Govern-

⁸⁸ See *Moscow News*, September 18, 1939.

ment especial concern for the security of its State. Poland has become convenient ground for any contingency and unexpected happenings which may create a menace to the Soviet Union. Until the last moment the Soviet Government remained neutral, but in view of the circumstances mentioned can no longer maintain a neutral attitude toward the situation that has arisen.

Nor can it be demanded of the Soviet Government that it remain indifferent to the fate of the blood kindred Ukrainian and Byelo-Russians living in Poland, who even earlier were nations without any rights and who have now been entirely abandoned to their fate. The Soviet Government deems it its sacred duty to extend a helping hand to its brothers the Ukrainians and brother Byelo-Russians inhabiting Poland.

In view of all this, the Government of the U. S. S. R. has this morning handed a note to the Polish Ambassador in Moscow stating that the Soviet Government has instructed the high command of the Red Army to order troops to cross the frontier and to take under their protection the lives and property of the population of Western Ukraine and Western Byelo-Russia. . . .

NO. 3. THE REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL
OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS AND PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR
FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, V. MOLOTOV, TO THE FIFTH
EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET
OF THE U. S. S. R. ON OCTOBER 31, 1939⁸⁹

1. Finland

. . . Our relations with Finland are of specific character. This is to be explained chiefly by the fact that in Finland there is a greater amount of outside influence on the part of third parties. An impartial person must admit, however, that the same problem concerning the security of the Soviet Union and particularly of Leningrad, which figured in the negotiations with Esthonia, also figure in the negotiations with Finland Leningrad, which after Moscow is the most important city of the Soviet State, is situated at a distance of only thirty-two kilometers from the Finnish border. This means that the distance of Leningrad from the border of a foreign State is less than that required for modern long-range guns to shell it. On the other hand, the approaches to Leningrad from the sea also depend to a large extent on whether Finland, which owns the

⁸⁹ *Soviet Russia Today*, November, 1939, p. 5.

entire northern shore of the Gulf of Finland, and all islands, is hostile or friendly toward the Soviet Union.

What has been the basis of the relations between the Soviet Union and Finland during all these years? As you know, the basis of these relations has been the peace treaty of 1920 which was on the pattern of our treaties with other Baltic States. Of its own free will the Soviet Union insured the separate and independent existence of Finland. . . .

It is not difficult to see that in the present state of international affairs, when in the center of Europe war is developing within some of the biggest States, a war fraught with great surprises and dangers for all European States, the Soviet Union is not only entitled but obliged to adopt serious measures to increase its safety. . . . I must remind you that the population of Leningrad has grown to three and a half millions which almost equals the entire population of Finland, amounting to 3,650,000.

. . . Actually our proposals in the negotiations with Finland are extremely modest and are confined to that minimum without which it is impossible to safeguard the security of the U. S. S. R. . . . We have proposed that an agreement be reached to shift the Soviet-Finnish border on the Isthmus of Karelia several dozen kilometers further to the north of Leningrad. In exchange for this we have proposed to transfer to Finland part of Soviet Karelia double the size of the territory which Finland is to transfer to the Soviet Union. We have further proposed that an agreement be reached for Finland to lease to us for a definite term a small section of her territory near the entrance to the Gulf of Finland where might be established a naval base . . . against hostile attempts on the part of other States We have further expressed our desire to reinforce the Soviet-Finnish pact of nonaggression with additional mutual guarantees.

In view of all this, we do not think that Finland will seek a pretext to frustrate the proposed agreement

I must, however, inform you that the President, Comrade Kalinin, replied to Mr. Roosevelt's message dated October 12, 1939, as follows:

. . . I consider it is proper to remind you, Mr. President, that the political independence of the Republic of Finland was recognized by the free will of the Soviet Government on December 31, 1917, and the sovereignty of Finland was secured for her by the Treaty of Peace between the R. S. F. S. R. and Finland of October 4, 1920. These acts of the Soviet Government define the fundamental principles governing the relations between the Soviet Union and Finland. It is in conformity with these principles that the present negotiations between the Soviet Govern-

ment and the Government of Finland are being conducted. The sole subject of these negotiations is to consolidate relations between the Soviet Union and Finland in the matter of safeguarding the security of the Soviet Union and Finland.

2. Baltic Countries

(Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania)

The relations of the Soviet Union with Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania are based on peace treaties concluded with the respective countries in 1920. By these treaties Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania became independent States and ever since then the Soviet Union has invariably pursued a friendly policy toward these newly created small States.

This was the reflection of a radical difference between the policy of the Soviet Government and the policy of Czarist Russia which brutally oppressed the small nations, denied them every opportunity of independent national and political development. It must be admitted that the existence of the past two decades of the development of Soviet-Esthonian, Soviet-Latvian, and Soviet-Lithuanian friendly relations created favorable conditions for the future consolidation of political and other relations between the U. S. S. R. and its Baltic neighbors

As you know, the Soviet Union has concluded pacts of mutual assistance with Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The principles underlying all these pacts are identical. They include military assistance in case any of these countries are attacked.

In view of the special geographical position of these countries, which are in a way approaches to the U. S. S. R., particularly from the Baltic, these pacts allow the Soviet Union to maintain naval bases and air fields.

. . .

The creation of these Soviet naval bases and air fields on the territory of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania . . . insures reliable defense not only for the Soviet Union but also for the Baltic States themselves.

. . . The special character of these mutual assistance pacts in no way implies any interference by the Soviet Union in the affairs of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania as some foreign newspapers are trying to make out. On the contrary, all these pacts of mutual assistance strictly stipulated the inviolability of the sovereignty of the signatory States and the principle of noninterference in each other's affairs.

These pacts are based on mutual respect for the political, social and economic structure of the contracting parties and are designed to streng-

then the basis for peaceful, neighborly cooperation between our peoples. We stand for scrupulous and punctual observance of pacts on a basis of complete reciprocity and we declare that all nonsense about Sovietizing the Baltic countries is only to the interest of our common enemy of anti-Soviet provocateurs.

. . . The principle of Soviet policy toward small countries has been demonstrated with particular force by the treaty providing for the transfer of the City of Vilna and the Vilna region to the Lithuanian Republic.

3. Liberation of Western Ukraine and Byelo-Russia

There is no need to prove that at the moment when the Polish State was in a state of complete collapse our government was obliged to extend a helping hand to our brothers Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians inhabiting the territory of Western Ukraine and Western Byelo-Russia. That is what we did. When the Red Army marched into these regions it was greeted with the general sympathy of the Ukrainian and Byelo-Russians population, who welcomed our troops as liberators from the yoke of the gentry, from the yoke of the Polish landlords and capitalists . . . together the territory of Western Ukraine and Western Byelo-Russia that was passed to us has a population of about 30,000,000 of whom more than 7,000,000 are Ukrainians and more than 3,000,000 Byelo-Russians, more than 1,000,000 Poles and more than 1,000,000 Jews.

. . . The recent election to the national assemblies of Western Ukraine and Western Byelo-Russia conducted for the first time in the history of these territories on a basis of universal direct, equal suffrage and secret ballot, have shown that at least nine tenths of the population of these regions have long been ready to join the Soviet Union.

The decisions of the National Assemblies in Lvov and Bialostok, testify to the complete unanimity of the people's representatives on political questions.

NO. 4. PROCLAMATION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF WESTERN UKRAINE, OCTOBER 27, 1939⁹⁰

The Popular Assembly of Western Ukraine consisting of delegates elected by over ninety per cent of the people meeting at Lvov on October 27, 1939, unanimously adopted the following proclamation on the incorporation of Western Ukraine into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

. . . The Ukrainian people in the former Polish State was doomed to

⁹⁰ *Soviet Russia Today*, November, 1939, p. 50.

extinction . . . but an end has come . . . to oppression and disenfranchisement. By will of the entire multinational Soviet people, on instruction of Soviet Government, the Red Army liberated . . . the people of the Western Ukraine from the power of Polish landlords and capitalists.

At assemblies and meetings the people unanimously expressed their inflexible will to merge in the fraternal family of people of the great Soviet Union and to be incorporated into Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic . . . for only in the Soviet Union is the full blossoming of national culture—popular culture in the real sense—possible for each people. For only in the Soviet Union has the feeling of mutual distrust among people vanished, and in place of the national discord cultivated by the bourgeoisie the friendship among people has grown and strengthened.

The Popular Assembly expressed its free conviction . . . that the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. will satisfy that request of the people of Western Ukraine that in a single and harmonious family of people of the U. S. S. R. . . . it may follow the path of a new and happy life.

. . . Giving unanimous expression to the will of the liberated people of Western Ukraine . . . the Ukrainian People's Assembly proclaims the establishment of the Soviet power in the entire territory of Western Ukraine. Henceforth all power in Western Ukraine belongs to the working people of towns and countries in the shape of Soviet deputies of the working people.

NO. 5. ADMISSION OF WESTERN UKRAINE AND WESTERN BYELO-RUSSIA
INTO THE SOVIET UNION, NOVEMBER 1, 1939

On November 1, 1939, at the Fifth Extraordinary Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. in Moscow, attended by the elected delegates from Western Ukraine and Western Byelo-Russia, the Western Ukraine was officially admitted into the Soviet Union by unanimous vote. The Western Ukraine will be part of the U. S. S. R. Similar action incorporating Western Byelo-Russia into Soviet Byelo-Russia has taken place at the following session.⁹¹

NO. 6. BROADCAST SPEECH OF V. MOLOTOV THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS AND PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MOSCOW, NOVEMBER 29, 1939⁹²

. . . In the course of the past two months, the Soviet Government has passionately conducted negotiations with the Government of Finland

⁹¹ *Soviet Russia Today*, November, 1939, *ibid*.

⁹² *Soviet Russia Today*, December, 1939.

concerning proposals which in the present alarming international situation it regarded as the minimum essential for insuring the security of our country and especially for the security of Leningrad.

In these negotiations the Government of Finland adopted an attitude of irreconcilable hostility toward our country. Instead of finding ground for agreement in a friendly manner, the present rulers of Finland, to please the foreign imperialists who instigate hostility toward the Soviet Union, took a different course.

... The hostile foreign press asserts that the measures being taken by us are aimed at the seizure of Finnish territory, of its annexation to the U. S. S. R. This is a malicious slander. More than that, if Finland herself pursued a friendly policy toward the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union which always sought for friendly relations with Finland would be ready to meet her part way in regard to territorial concessions on the part of the U. S. S. R. Under these conditions, the Soviet Union would be ready to consider favorably even such a question as the question of reuniting the Karelia people inhabiting the main districts of present Soviet Karelia with kindred Finnish people in a single and independent State.

... Others assert that measures carried out by us are aimed against Finnish independence or at interference in her internal and external affairs. This is an equally malicious slander. Irrespective of the régime existing in Finland, we consider her an independent and sovereign State in her external and internal policies. We firmly hold that the Finnish people should themselves decide its internal and external affairs in the manner it deems necessary. ... Questions of relations between Finland and other States are the exclusive concern of Finland herself and the Soviet Union does not consider itself entitled to interfere in this matter. The only purpose of our measures is to insure the security of the Soviet Union and especially the City of Leningrad with its population of 3,500,000. In the present international atmosphere heated by war we cannot make the solution of the vital and urgent State problems dependent on the ill will of the present Finnish rulers.

NO. 7. REPORT BY THE PREMIER V. MOLOTOV TO THE SEVENTH
SESSION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET ON AUGUST 1, 1940⁹³

The mutual assistance pact signed with Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia did not produce the required result because this was opposed by the

⁹³ *Soviet Russia Today*, August, 1940.

ruling bourgeois groups of those countries. They were incapable of honestly carrying out the mutual assistance pacts concluded with the Soviet Union; on the contrary, they even increased their hostile activities against the Soviet Union.

The problem of the relations of the Soviet Union with the Baltic countries has lately taken a new turn. It became utterly impossible to tolerate such a state of affairs any longer, particularly in the present situation.

This was the reason why the Soviet Government presented the demands which you know of concerning changes in the government of Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia and dispatched additional Red Army units to those countries. You know the result of this step of our government.

The most important measures carried out by the governments friendly to the Soviet Union that were set up in Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, were the holding of free parliamentary elections. In July democratic elections were held for the Lithuanian Diet, the Latvian Diet and the Esthonian State Duma. The elections proved that the ruling bourgeois cliques of Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia, did not express the will of their peoples and represented only small groups of exploiters.

The Diets of Lithuania and Latvia and the State Duma of Esthonia elected on the basis of universal direct equal suffrage and secret ballot have already expressed their unanimous opinion of a fundamental political question.

We can know with satisfaction, that the people of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania voted solidly for their representatives who unanimously pronounced in favor of introducing the Soviet system and of incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

. . . It should be noted that nineteen twentieths of this population previously formed part of the population of the U. S. S. R. but have been forcibly torn from the U. S. S. R. by Western imperialist power, when the U. S. S. R. was militarily weak. Now this population has again been reunited with the Soviet Union.

. . . We shall have the ice-free port in the Baltic on which we stand so much in need.

It must also be said that great responsibility rests on the Government of the Soviet Union for the carrying out of practical measures in a proper and organized manner for the political and economic reconstruction of the new Soviet republics.

NO. 8. ARTICLE 13 OF THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION⁹⁴

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a federal State, formed on the basis of the voluntary association of Soviet Socialist Republics having equal rights, namely:

(1) The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic . . .

(12) The Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic, (13) The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, (14) The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, (15) The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, (16) The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic.

⁹⁴ The official text of the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the U. S. S. R. of 1936, edited by OGIZ (State Publishing House), 1938. Amended April-August, 1940, by the Supreme Soviet.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

These documents present the views of distinguished leaders of opinion of many countries on vital international problems and reproduce the texts of official treaties, diplomatic correspondence, and draft plans for international projects such as the Permanent Court of International Justice. *International Conciliation* appeared under the imprint of the American Association for International Conciliation, No. 1, April 1907, to No. 199, June 1924. The most recent publications are listed below. A complete list will be sent upon application to International Conciliation, 405 West 117th Street, New York City.

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